

# American SOCIOLOGICAL Review

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## THE SCIENCE LEGISLATION AND THE ROLE OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES<sup>1</sup>

TALCOTT PARSONS  
*Harvard University*

THE PROPOSALS to establish a National Science Foundation, which are of paramount interest to social scientists as well as to those in the other scientific disciplines have, after being before Congress for over a year, failed to get action in the closing weeks of the last session. This misfortune makes it all the more imperative that, in preparation for the new phase of the debate, all groups who have an important stake in the legislation should be fully informed about the issues so that they can exert the most intelligent influence on Congress when a new bill is introduced as it almost certainly will be in the next session.

<sup>1</sup> Last spring at the direction of the Executive Committee, President Carl C. Taylor, of the American Sociological Society, appointed a committee of the Society, with himself as Chairman, to consider the relation of the Society to the Science Legislation then pending before Congress. This Committee met in New York in June. It was the unanimous opinion of the members that it was desirable that the membership of the Society should be as fully informed as possible about the issues involved in the legislation, and that the appropriate vehicle for this was an article in the *American Sociological Review*. The author, a member of the Committee, was therefore requested to undertake the writing of the article. The Committee cannot, however, be held responsible for the opinions expressed in the article, which are those for which the author alone bears responsibility.

The obligation of social scientists is not only important because of their own immediate interest in the consequences of the proposed legislation. For, since the question of whether or not to include social science in the scope of the Foundation has been one of the most controversial questions, a satisfactory settlement of the whole issue cannot be arrived at without the fullest possible clarification of the role of social science. And surely this in turn cannot be arrived at without bringing to bear the best informed and most fully considered opinion of social scientists themselves.

A brief history of the legislative proposals in this field will be useful to preface a discussion of the issues involved for the social sciences. On July 5, 1945, Dr. Vannevar Bush, Director of the Office of Scientific Research and Development, published his report entitled *Science, the Endless Frontier*. This report was the outcome of a study made at the request of President Roosevelt, of the ways in which the benefits of the mobilization of the scientific resources of the nation for the prosecution of the war, which had centered in OSRD, could be carried over to peace time.

The principal recommendations of the "Bush Report," as it has generally been

called, were soon embodied in a bill which was introduced into the Senate by Senator Warren Magnuson of Washington (S—1285). At about the same time Senator Harvey Kilgore of West Virginia introduced an alternative bill (S—1297). For the most part, the controversies over the legislation have centered on the differences between these two alternative bills. And the rift between their advocates was not successfully healed at the time that the proposals expired with the adjournment of the Session.<sup>2</sup>

The Bush Report and correspondingly the Magnuson Bill, recommended that the Foundation be governed by a Board of nine members, none of whom should be full-time Government employees, but who should be taken from private life, principally, though not exclusively, from among eminent scientists. In contrast the Kilgore Bill provided that the Foundation should be headed by an administrator, appointed by the President. The Kilgore bill provided that there should be an Advisory Board, but without power, and one which would be considerably larger than that proposed in the Magnuson Bill. This would be composed about half and half of persons drawn from outside the Government and of representatives of the various Government departments and agencies which had an interest in the work of the Foundation. This was the most serious difference between the two bills and the one over which there was the most controversy.

The other two most important differences were over patent policy and the inclusion of the social sciences. The Magnuson Bill involved no innovations in patent policy, following the practice of OSRD, which left it open to private interests to patent results of work which had been in whole or in part supported by Federal funds unless this right was specifically restricted in the terms of the contracts under which it was done. The Kilgore Bill, on the other hand, provided

for rather radical innovations in this field, including a blanket prohibition of the patenting of results growing out of Government-supported research. Finally, the Magnuson Bill did not include any specific provision for the social sciences,<sup>3</sup> though they might have become involved indirectly under its terms in so far as they could have been held to contribute to national defense, to health, or to welfare. While the original Kilgore Bill also did not include the social sciences, in the revised form introduced in October, 1945, social science research as part of the "basic sciences," was provided for, though not as a separate division of the Foundation.

The next important stage in the story was the message of President Truman to Congress of September 5, 1945. In this message the President broadly endorsed the policies embodied in the Kilgore Bill. He strongly recommended that Congress enact legislation establishing a Science Foundation, but he recommended that an Administrator and not a Board have the primary responsibility, and specifically that the social sciences be included.

On introduction, the Kilgore Bill had been referred to the Committee on Military Affairs of the Senate, while the Magnuson Bill was referred to the Commerce Committee. It was, however, arranged to hold joint hearings on the two bills under the auspices of the Subcommittee on War Mobilization of the Committee on Military Affairs, of which Senator Kilgore was Chairman. These hearings began on October 8, 1945, and produced a large volume of testimony by more than one hundred witnesses.<sup>4</sup> These included many eminent scientists, Government officials, and interested laymen. One day, October 29, was specifically given over to the problem of the role of the social sciences as presented by the Social Science Research Council, which, among organized social science groups, took the primary initiative in this matter. The case was presented by Dr. Wesley C. Mitchell, Professor Emeritus

<sup>2</sup> Three other bills, the Byrd and Fulbright Bills in the Senate and the May Bill in the House, were much more limited in scope. In order not to complicate the exposition unduly, these bills have been omitted from consideration in the following discussion.

<sup>3</sup> Undoubtedly as a matter of deliberate policy.

<sup>4</sup> *Hearings on Science Legislation* (S 1297 and Related Bills) Parts 1-5. Government Printing Office, 1946.

<sup>5</sup> For the  
see *Science*  
<sup>6</sup> *Science*

of Economics at Columbia University; Dr. John M. Gaus, Professor of Political Science at the University of Wisconsin; Dr. Robert M. Yerkes, Professor Emeritus of Psychology at Yale University; Dr. William F. Ogburn, Professor of Sociology at the University of Chicago; Dr. E. G. Nourse, Vice-President of the Brookings Institution, and Monsignor John M. Cooper, Professor of Anthropology at Catholic University. The problem of the role of social science, however, was frequently brought up by other witnesses, and was often included in the questions that members of the Senate Committees asked of witnesses.

After the hearings a compromise bill was worked out which on December 21 was introduced into the Senate (S-1720) under the sponsorship of Senators Kilgore, Johnson, Pepper, Fullbright and Saltonstall. Senator Magnuson, it will be noted, did not commit himself to this bill, but nevertheless it was a compromise in that the Kilgore group made a serious effort to take account of the views of the groups which had been supporting the Magnuson Bill. Though S-1720 did not abandon the plan of an administrator, it greatly strengthened the position of the Board, reducing it to nine members and empowering them to make recommendations directly to the President and Congress.

In the meantime the division outside Congress between the two principal groups became marked. A "Committee supporting the Bush Report" was organized with President Isaiah Bowman—himself a professional geographer—of Johns Hopkins University, as Chairman. This group wrote an open letter to President Truman urging him to support the Magnuson Bill.<sup>5</sup> To this the President replied saying in effect that he saw no reason to change the position he had taken in his Message to Congress of September 5, which had been supplemented by two statements which were entered on the record of the hearings through the Director of War Mobilization and Reconversion and the Director of the Budget respectively.<sup>6</sup> In reply

to the letter of the Committee supporting the Bush Report, there was organized, under the sponsorship of Dr. Harold Urey and Dr. Harlow Shapley as Co-chairmen, a "Committee for a National Science Foundation" which on December 28 issued a statement, signed by over 200 prominent people from both the natural and the social sciences, which emphasized the basis for agreement and, without mentioning the bill as such, tended to throw support behind S-1720.<sup>7</sup>

During January, 1946, through the intervention of Senator Elbert Thomas of Utah, Chairman of the Military Affairs Committee, the various groups were brought together. As a result S-1720 was somewhat revised and agreement was reached on a bill which was introduced on February 21, 1946, as S-1850.<sup>8</sup> In particular this new version was approved by representatives of the Committee supporting the Bush Report, and became the final Senate version which was supported in the Senate by Senator Magnuson as well as the sponsors of S-1720. It was reported out of Committee in April and placed on the Senate calendar, but did not come up for action until July 1, when after brief debate it was passed, but with one major amendment, the deletion of the provision for a division of social science.

over officially by the AAAS on Jan. 1, 1946, has carried a full running account of developments in connection with the Science Legislation.

<sup>7</sup> For the text of the statement see *Science*, Jan. 4, 1946, and for the list of signers the issue of Jan. 11, 1946.

<sup>8</sup> See the summary of events up to this point by Dr. Howard A. Meyerhoff, *Science*, March 1, 1946. S-1850 provided for a Division of Social Sciences. It did, however, qualify the authority of this division by stating (p. 3, 1. 16ff.); "The functions of each division shall be prescribed by the Administrator after receiving the advice of the Board except that until the Administrator and the Board have received general recommendations from the Division of Social Sciences regarding the support of research through that Division, support of social science research shall be limited to studies of the impact of scientific discovery on the general welfare and studies required in connection with other projects supported by the Foundation." Dr. Meyerhoff (*Science*, June 21, 1946) states that this limitation was inserted at the insistence of representatives of the Committee Supporting the Bush Report.

<sup>5</sup> For the text of the letter and the list of signers see *Science*, Nov. 30, 1945.

<sup>6</sup> *Science*, Jan. 4, 1946. *Science*, since it was taken



In the meantime another move was made from quite another quarter. On January 30, 1946, Senator Willis of Indiana, as spokesman for a group of Senators who had not been previously involved in the problems of science legislation, introduced S—1777, a bill to establish a National Science Foundation by setting up a corporation consisting of fifty members appointed by the President from nominees proposed by the National Academy of Sciences. This Foundation was, subject to the approval of Congress, to set up its own constitution and define its own scope. The final clause included an appropriation of \$100,000 for the making of an "initial report and recommendation." In other words, all the work of Dr. Bush and his colleagues, and of the many others who had investigated the problem, was to be brushed aside in favor of another investigation. The introduction of the Willis Bill was indicative of the strength of forces which were suspicious of the whole idea of a Science Foundation.

Agreement between the most important interested groups on S—1850 seemed, however, to have been reached<sup>9</sup> and subject, of course, to the usual hazards of the legislative process, the outcome of its consideration was awaited with considerable confidence. The agreement did not, however, hold, and its breakdown was expressed by the introduction on May 15 in the House of Representatives of the Mills Bill (HR—6448). This bill was a very slightly revised replica of the old Magnuson Bill (S—1285). Hearings were very hastily arranged, with the witnesses dominated by members and proponents of the Committee supporting the Bush Report, with both Dr. Bowman and Dr. Bush himself expressing their preference for this over S—1850, in spite of their previous

agreement that the latter presented a satisfactory solution of the problems presented by earlier versions. Few little proponents of S—1850 were notified of the hearings in advance, and it was only through their own representations, notably those of Secretary Henry A. Wallace, that they were given an opportunity to be heard at all. The introduction of HR—6448 proved to be the fatal step which blocked action on the whole topic in the 79th Congress. It broke the united front of the principal interested groups in support of S—1850, both inside and outside Congress, which had been so painfully achieved. After the passage of S—1850 (as amended) by the Senate, a slightly modified HR—6448 was reported out by the Subcommittee on Public Health of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce to the full Committee. Here, on July 19, the Committee decided it did not have the information necessary for action and the whole subject was tabled, thus blocking any further action before a new session of Congress.

## II

What is the explanation of the failure of the Science Legislation just when the situation seemed so peculiarly favorable? How far did the attempt to include social science introduce the controversial issue which so split the advocates of the Foundation in general, that the whole cause was, for the time being, lost? To answer the second question first, the controversy over social science seems to have been a factor in deepening the general split, but not to have been a primary one. The primary difficulty centered on the organization of the Foundation and the provisions for the distribution of funds, the second one was the patent issue, and social science seems to have occupied third place.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> The most important evidence of the generality of this agreement lies in the vote of the Council of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, the most representative single body in the field. This vote, in support of S—1850 was by the overwhelming majority of 233 to 10. On its basis Dr. James B. Conant, President of the AAAS, wrote a letter to all members of the Senate urging in the name of the Association that the bill be passed (*Science*, May 10, 1946).

<sup>10</sup> It is a mistake to suppose, as some have done, that natural scientists were virtually united in opposition to the inclusion of social science in the Foundation. Besides the testimony in the Hearings of a number of prominent scientists, including Dr. Shapley and Dr. Conant (See *Hearings*, Part I, p. 51, Part 5, p. 984), the most important evidence is in the poll taken by the AAAS of its membership in which 67% favored government support of research in the Social Sciences (*Hearings*, Part I, pp. 84ff, testimony of Dr. Meyerhoff).



The division of opinion and attitude behind the controversy over these issues was probably primarily one within the ranks of the scientific groups concerned. But it got involved with general issues of national politics in such a way as to go far toward destroying the essentially non-partisan character of the legislation which most of its early advocates had hoped could be maintained, and sincerely believed was in fact justified.

The division within the scientific groups was most dramatically expressed in the letter to President Truman from the Committee to Support the Bush Report, and its list of signers, on the one hand, and the statement of the Committee for a National Science Foundation, organized by Professors Urey and Shapley, and its list of signers, on the other. Very broadly speaking, this was a division between an inner group which had played the leading role in the work of the Office of Scientific Research and Development during the war and were associated with the institutions where the bulk of that work had been done and, on the other hand, a much broader group of scientists all over the country.

The first group seemed to be above all concerned to preserve the control of the Foundation in the hands of highly qualified scientists who had proved their capacities in the field of war research. In turn this seemed to many to mean that the bulk of research under the auspices of the Foundation would be concentrated in the rather small number of university and industrial research laboratories which had played the most prominent part in the work of OSRD, such as the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Harvard, The University of Chicago, Columbia, The Bell Telephone Laboratories, and The General Electric Company Laboratories. The opposing point of view tended to be suspicious of too great a monopoly in the hands of a "scientific oligarchy" and of a privileged group of research institutions, both academic and industrial.

Without in any way depreciating the extraordinary achievements of OSRD research during the war, the tendency of the second group has been to argue that the form of

organization it took, though extremely effective for the purposes of the war, should not serve as a precedent for peace-time conditions. In the latter context the base should be considerably broader both geographically and in terms of the groups and institutions involved. This could on the whole be more readily accomplished with an organization which was more responsive to the President and Congress than an almost wholly independent Board would be.

It can be said with considerable confidence that initially the group which has urged the "Bush Report" has neither been particularly concerned with any issues of national politics as such, besides concern for national defense and the general welfare, nor have they held any specific attitude of hostility to the social sciences. However, the situation has gradually taken shape in such a way as to involve both these connections; the "Bush" position has tended to become identified both with political conservatism, and with a desire to exclude the social sciences.

In addition to the natural feeling of a group of persons who have become accustomed to playing the central role in favor of their own kind continuing to do so, this tendency seems to have been associated with a particular relation of wartime research to industry. As a whole succession of the witnesses before the Senate Committees emphasized, wartime research was inevitably concentrated in the applied and engineering fields, not in those of fundamental science. It was a matter of devising, in the shortest time, specific means to attain specific ends, using fundamental scientific knowledge, of course, but not primarily concerned with adding to it. It was, in short, technological research, and the center of gravity of technological development as such naturally has lain in industry. A very prominent role was played by university laboratories in the program of war research. But at the same time the close liaison between industry and physical science which had developed in peacetime tended to be accentuated by the conditions of wartime research.

The financial resources available in indus-

try for the support of research are enormous. For this and other reasons it is not surprising to find that a certain group identified with industry has been sceptical of any proposals to bring the Federal Government into the field of scientific research at all, because they felt the resources at the command of industry were quite adequate, and because they were fearful of any possibility of "government control."<sup>11</sup>

Given the very close relationship between industry and scientific research during the war, and given the general suspicion in industrial circles of any extension of the functions of the federal government it is not surprising, first, that opposition to the whole idea of a National Science Foundation should appear. In effect the introduction of the Willis Bill, and the support it received in the Senate, had this significance. Secondly, it is not surprising that the general weight of industrial influence should, short of virtually blocking any action at all, have been thrown in favor of a program which contained the most elaborate safeguards against "political" influence, by vesting control in the hands of a group of men altogether outside the regular structure of government, and by ensuring that there should be no change in traditional policy with respect to patents. It seems to have been in this way that the interests of an inner group of the wartime "statesmen of science" and of prominent elements of politically influential "big business" have come to coincide, with the effect of turning the problem of the Foundation to a considerable extent into a partisan issue.

In the later stages of the consideration of the problems, in particular this aspect of the situation appears to have become formally

<sup>11</sup> See especially the testimony of Dr. Frank B. Jewett, former Director of the Bell Telephone Laboratories. (*Hearings*, Part 2, pp. 427ff.). The fact that, at this critical time, Dr. Jewett has been President of the National Academy of Sciences, has been a factor of considerable significance in weakening united support for the science legislation on any basis on which general agreement could be reached. In the hearings Dr. Jewett's testimony took a position not shared by any other prominent witness. It is difficult to tell how widely it is shared by other scientists associated with scientific research in industry.

crystallized by the intervention of the National Association of Manufacturers as a lobbying organization in favor of the Mills Bill, the introduction of which was the primary factor in breaking the united front of the scientific groups in favor of S—1850.<sup>11a</sup> The situation was also reflected in the character of the Senate vote on the amended bill, in which the opposition was by a considerable majority Republican, though a number opposed the Hart amendment<sup>12</sup> while a solid bloc of Democrats favored it. This drift of the issue can only be felt to be highly unfortunate by all the scientific groups, natural or social, who rightly feel that the fundamental orientation of their fields of knowledge, and its potential significance to the welfare of the nation, are altogether above and beyond the immediate political issues of the day.

The issue of social science has not in any simple logical sense been involved in the political divisions just discussed. And yet it has come to be drawn in, largely against the will of those favorable to its inclusion. This is understandable in part because social science was not in fact involved in the wartime activities of OSRD, which seems to have been a primary reason why it was not included in the recommendations of the Bush Report. The war research activities of social scientists, which were by no means negligible, were scattered through many different branches of the Government, instead of being concentrated in a single agency comparable to OSRD.

Furthermore, there was no relationship between social science research and that of industry comparable to that between physical science and industry. The consequence was, where there was a tendency to divide opinion into two camps, to force social scientists and their advocates into the group opposing the OSRD-industrial combination. The exclusion of the social sciences from the recommendations of the Bush Report crys-

<sup>11a</sup> In the opinion of Mr. John H. Teetor (private communication) the NAM was concerned solely with the patent section of S—1850 which it felt to be inimical to business interests.

<sup>12</sup> Which eliminated the Division of Social Sciences.

tallized this situation, and it was further hardened by the fact that President Truman recommended their inclusion in sharp disagreement with the Bush recommendations.

There is also, however, an older background to this aspect of the situation. The central group out of which the personnel and backing of OSRD have come has been identified with the National Academy of Sciences. This organization with its semi-governmental character has been a natural focus for the relations of the scientists of the country to government. It has never included the social sciences except psychology, anthropology and geography, all of which have been only partially social in character, and have been included in the Academy primarily in their non-social aspects. This long-standing situation made it a natural assumption that an organization of American "Science" should have approximately the same scope that the National Academy has had.

But once the connection of the scope of the Bush recommendations with the scope of OSRD was established another factor worked prominently in favor of differential treatment of the two groups of disciplines. Though by no means confined to it, the very high concentration of war research in the physical and medical sciences in OSRD was contrasted with a complete lack of any corresponding concentration of social science research. This, as Dr. Donald Young has remarked<sup>13</sup> has been one of the major factors in the relative lack of dramatization of the contributions of the social sciences to victory. Social scientists were scattered through virtually all branches of the government and in only a few cases would it have been possible to segregate their contribution as such from those of others.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Donald Young, *Organization for Research in the Social Sciences*, pp. 1-2. Draft copy of paper to be published in volume on *The Humanities and Social Sciences During the War Period* by the Council of Learned Societies.

<sup>14</sup> Perhaps the most notable of then organized units was the Research Branch of the Information and Education Division of the War Department, commanded by Major General Frederick H. Osborn. Fortunately an analysis of much of the material

In addition to these negative reasons for the exclusion of the social sciences from the recommendations of the most influential group of natural scientists, there are certain rather intangible but important positive reasons for the tendency of social scientists to line up against the other recommendations of the Bush Report. First, though frequent assertions that the overwhelming majority of scientists favored the Board as opposed to the Administrator may be questioned as to the universality of the sentiment, there is no doubt that a very important and influential group of natural scientists have felt that way. On the other hand this cannot be said about the social scientists. The group of the latter who testified in the hearings on behalf of the Social Science Research Council were a representative group of established men, who were chosen only because of the effectiveness of their testimony with regard to the inclusion of social science, and entirely without reference to their opinions on the other issues involved in the legislation. They were, however, all questioned by members of the Senate Committees on the administration of the proposed Foundation, and all tended to favor the pattern of an Administrator with an advisory Board. In this respect their opinions coincided with those of a number who had had extensive administrative experience such as Mr. Harold D. Smith, at that time Director of the Budget. Whatever the reasons, their testimony would seem to be representative of the views of the majority of social scientists.

However far this may or may not be attributable either to specific experience in administrative capacities, or to any professional expertness as social scientists which natural scientists may lack, there is probably a second reason in the background. There is, namely, reason to believe that as a group social scientists are somewhat more "liberal" in their political opinions and attitudes than are natural scientists. They have as a group been less associated with industry and hence less apt to absorb the opinions current in

collected by this group is to be published in 1947 under the auspices of the Social Science Research Council.



business circles. More of them have been associated with liberal causes and have absorbed reformist traditions in ways which are more or less closely associated with their professional work.<sup>15</sup> Hence, there has been a tendency for the social scientists to line up somewhat further toward the "left" on such an issue than at least one influential group of natural scientists. This tendency seems, however indefinitely, to be associated with broad undercurrents of sentiment which are related to the differences of social status and function of the two groups.

### III

It is the question of the relation of this proposed legislation to the social sciences which most vitally interests the readers of this Journal. In this connection there are two main issues involved; first, whether there should be federal support of social science research, and, second, whether it should be included in the same bill and under the jurisdiction of the same foundation as the natural sciences.

The second issue seems to be the less complicated. Especially in the early discussions, soon after the publication of the Bush Report, there was a considerable body of opinion that it would be better, granting the desirability of federal support for the social sciences, that it should be organizationally separate from the Foundation contemplated by the Bush Report. Many argued that it would be desirable that, preliminary to making any proposals to Congress, there should be an investigation of the problem parallel to that which led to the Bush Report, a course which would naturally delay action for a considerable time. Since then the weight of opinion, which was in favor of federal support of the social sciences at all, has tended to swing toward the inclusion of social science research in the same Foundation with the natural sciences.

Two primary sets of considerations seem to be involved. The first is political. Many have felt that after the issue of a Foundation

for natural science had been settled it would be much more difficult to get favorable congressional action on a bill dealing with the social sciences alone. In part this is because of the prominence of the natural science case, namely because of the atomic bomb and because of the dramatic war record of the natural sciences. In part it is because many of the issues raised by support of social science research are politically controversial in a sense in which this is not true of the natural sciences. In both these respects there is a sense in which being included in the natural science bills constituted "riding in on the coattails" of the natural sciences, and this aspect is, of course, distasteful to most social scientists. It could readily be made to look simply like wanting to have a share of the money which was likely to be available for research.

It also belonged to the political aspect of the case that in the President's message to Congress the inclusion of social science was specifically endorsed. This tended, irrespective of the merits of the issue as such, to predispose the President's political supporters to support it and correspondingly his opponents to take the other side.

The case for inclusion has, however, been by no means wholly political in this sense. It also involved deeper issues of the status and situation of the scientific disciplines. In the first place there is a very important sense in which it is impossible to draw any distinct line between the natural and the social sciences. This is particularly true in relation to the fields which have been defined in all the bills as the fundamental objectives of the proposed Foundation; to quote S—1850 "To promote the progress of science and the useful arts, to secure the national defense, to advance national health and welfare, and for other purposes." (HR—6448 was not, as might be expected, narrower, but broader in the definition of its objectives; it included national prosperity which was omitted from the other.) To reach these objectives, except the promotion of science and the useful arts in the narrowest definition, it is certainly necessary to promote research in the social as well as the natural sciences. Few informed

<sup>15</sup> For instance, the investigation of ethnic and religious discrimination.

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persons would question that defense depends on the understanding of the attitudes, morale and the like, both of ourselves and of all our potential allies or enemies, almost as much as it does on weapons; similarly, that health depends on social conditions and standards of living as much as on biological medicine, and finally the blanket category of welfare most certainly cannot be limited to applications of the physical sciences.

But this is not all. The respects in which the different classes of disciplines are applicable to these objectives are not hermetically sealed into neat compartments—they shade imperceptibly into one another. Strictly military defense and enemy and domestic morale are most intimately interconnected. Where health is defined to include mental health, organic medicine, psychiatry and the social sciences are increasingly bound up together, and finally the relations between technological advance and the business cycle, with its attendant consequences of unemployment and mass suffering, are certainly not capable of any neat segregation.

Most social scientists would approve the provision for a distinct Division of Social Science in the Foundation, as was provided in S—1850,<sup>15a</sup> but this is very different from a totally separate Foundation. Division of labor within any large organization is essential to efficiency and such division by disciplines is certainly in accord with the actual differences between the methods and interests of the groups of disciplines themselves, if it is not too rigid. But if they occurred within the same Foundation it could be taken for granted that the divisions of National Defense or of Health would not be confined to applied natural science, but would include the contributions of all the “pure” disciplines which could be brought to bear on these very broad applied fields, and this would certainly include very important contributions from the social sciences.

The second most important intrinsic reason for the inclusion of natural and social

<sup>15a</sup> This is not, however, the only acceptable basis on which inclusion of the Social Sciences could be provided for.

sciences in the same foundation concerns the distribution of personnel between the two areas of scientific endeavor. One of the most important, and most widely approved, recommendations of the Bush Report was for the Foundation to finance a system of scholarships and fellowships, through which scientific talent, regardless of family financial position, should be sought out and given the opportunity for the best available scientific training. Should the very powerful lever of federal financial support for this fellowship program be applied only to those entering a career in the natural sciences, this would result in a serious skewing of the distribution of the best talent in one direction of career opportunity which, however important it undoubtedly is, ought not, most would agree, to develop out of all proportion to the other intellectual disciplines.

But in respect to this problem, the fellowship program does not stand alone. Federal support of research would presumably increase the total funds being devoted to this purpose in peacetime to a very substantial degree. By far the most important item in these research expenditures would be the salaries of the most highly qualified research personnel. This in turn would mean, beyond the fellowship level, immensely increased career opportunities for highly trained scientists. If this were confined to persons in the natural sciences, it would also serve to attract a disproportionate fraction of the total number of the ablest minds of each generation into the natural sciences.

#### IV

Behind these questions, however, lies that of whether federal support of research in the social sciences is really desirable as such. We are all aware that this is a complicated issue, and only a sketch of some of the most important considerations can be presented here. Some of them concern the nature of the disciplines and their present state, while others concern the problems to be expected to arise in the new relation to government.

All social scientists are, of course, familiar with the naive, popular misunderstandings of the nature of social science which are current,

such as, that it is nothing but a haven for crack-brained reformers, or that it is a glorified form of social work, or even that it is primarily concerned with promoting sexual libertarianism. Unfortunately such stereotypes, completely inaccurate as they are, cannot be completely dismissed as factors in the political problem of getting Congressional action on the problems of social science, since there will always be people to whom these beliefs are sufficient ground for objecting to the government having anything to do with the social sciences.

Another objection touches the difficulty of the social sciences in achieving the kind of objectivity which would enable them to rise above partisan politics. It is widely believed that the objectivity of natural science is such that the scientist in the nature of the case works for the welfare of society as such, while the social scientist is in effect primarily concerned with rationalizing his own sentiments, hence, that his research is not firmly anchored in sufficient impartiality to justify governmental support.

A relative justification of this view must be admitted—such lack of objectivity is more common among social scientists even in the direct context of their professional subject-matter than among natural. Yet the difference of the two areas is not so absolute as is often alleged. Furthermore, there is no evidence that the views of natural scientists about problems of social policy are any more objective than are those of social scientists. If anything the evidence points in the opposite direction. But above all, it is not proper to judge a scientific field by the average standards of its proponents. The basis of its support should rather be the potentiality for the future which is shown by the best and most advanced level of work which has yet been attained. Judged by this standard the situation is very much better than it would be if the average of current attainment were used.

A related objection touches what is sometimes called the "immaturity" of the social sciences, partly in the sense that they are not theoretically developed, but still more that they cannot produce significant prac-

tical results in the applied fields which could make important contributions to the objectives of the legislation, to national defense, health, prosperity or welfare. Again, there can be no question but that, relative to the natural sciences, there is some foundation for this view. There clearly does not exist a "social technology" resulting from the practical applications of the social sciences which is comparable in importance, scope and productivity to that of applied natural science. But highly significant beginnings do exist, and here in particular it is important to act in terms of future promise rather than of past record alone.

Discussion of the positive case should begin with the almost universally recognized urgency of the need. Virtually all of us are acutely aware that we live in a time of crisis, though there may be varying estimates of its significance and its seriousness. We are also aware that its fundamental roots lie to a very large extent in social, economic and political situations, in the very areas in which whatever competence the social sciences may have, falls. Furthermore, there is the importance of the balance between the natural and the social sciences in their impact on social life. The atomic bomb has brought to a climax the realization that the potentialities of modern scientific technology for destruction and disruption of social life have been growing by leaps and bounds. As Professor Ogburn put it with peculiar vividness in the Hearings,<sup>16</sup> every technological advance in the nature of the case creates new social problems. It does not seem sensible to pour resources into the acceleration of technological change and at the same time ignore any possible means of coping with the social problems which are directly produced or aggravated by such changes.

Science is unquestionably one of the most fundamental elements of the culture of the Western world. There must be healthy and full cultivation of science and its potentialities unless the culture and society we have known is to stagnate, if not to go up in flames. There are three principal implica-

<sup>16</sup> Part 4, pp. 765ff.

tions of this basic proposition. First, science is inherently dynamic; it must continue to advance or it is not science. Proposals, which occasionally appear, to try to stop its advance in order to let something else "catch up" are untenable; the result would be profound alterations in our whole society which would not be acceptable to most of its advocates. Secondly, there are no rigidly drawn boundaries to the scope of science. It should and must be extended wherever its methods are intrinsically applicable. That this includes man's social life and behavior there can be no shadow of a doubt despite the many difficulties and differences among the varied fields of scientific endeavor. In the last analysis science is inherently a unified whole. Division of labor within it there must be, but any attempt to draw a rigid boundary between any of its fields or areas will be a source of trouble. Finally, it is impossible to draw any rigid line between science as the pursuit of knowledge as such and its practical applications to the rational management of human interests and affairs. In proportion as sound "pure" scientific knowledge is developed in *any* field it will have applications, though applicability will also prove uneven relative to the development of knowledge itself.

These considerations are so fundamental that the problems of support become, for almost anyone who accepts the basic values of our society, essentially pragmatic ones. The principal ones are, first, whether the promise of the social sciences is such that investment of relatively large funds in their further development is worth while in terms of promise of contributions to the national welfare; second, whether the condition of the disciplines themselves is such that it will conduce to their welfare and sound development to have this type of support, with the obligations it imposes, available, and third, whether the provision of such support through an agency of government would create favorable conditions for their soundest development.

On the first question it must be freely admitted that in a certain sense the case of the social sciences still remains publicly to be

proved. There is undoubtedly a distressing history of ineffectuality which stands in sharp contrast to so much of the matter-of-fact competence of the natural sciences. The case here rests mainly on relatively recent developments. Put on this basis there is ground for considerable, though modest, confidence. There has, in the last generation been substantial development on the theoretical level which provides a much firmer foundation for research and application in a variety of fields than has previously existed. There has also been highly important development in the field of research techniques which has greatly extended the range and accuracy of social research. In a limited number of fields there is no question but that social research is, given adequate resources and well-trained personnel, in a position to deliver results of first-rate practical importance. Examples are the diagnosis of friction and inefficiency within organizations, the analysis of opinion and attitudes, the analysis of population movements and migration trends, and certain aspects of the control of the business cycle.<sup>17</sup> In short, social science is in a rapidly evolving and formative state. Relatively little about it is crystallized. But there is much that is solid to work from, and much promise for further development. It is in an expanding phase and, with due care, in a position fruitfully to make use of considerably increased resources. There are still relatively few fields in which anything like an automatic guarantee of practically significant returns can be given, but there are such fields and they are important, and with further development they can be expected to increase with considerable rapidity.

There is one particular development which leads to a need for greatly increased financial resources which is somewhat analogous to the need of the physical sciences for elaborate and expensive laboratory equipment. Inevitably accurately documented generalizations about large-scale social phenomena

<sup>17</sup> In many such cases the major difficulty does not lie in knowing scientifically *what* should be done to achieve a given end, but in practically (e.g. politically) implementing this knowledge through the necessary action.



have to rest on statistical information to a high degree. In the past most of the available statistical information has been a by-product of other interests than those of social research as such—notably in the case of the census. The procedure, one might say, has been to take the available data, and “speculate” about their meaning. Gradually interest in scientific problems has come to influence the kind of data which have been collected but it could, in such a case as the enumerative activities of the census, be only a very broad interest. With the development of refined methods of sampling, however, it has become possible, within relatively modest limits, to gather adequate statistical data to test hypotheses in connection with a specific research program. This whole development brings the relevant areas of social science very much closer to the logical equivalent of experimental method than has been possible on a comparable scale before. It is still true that this type of work requires resources which are often beyond the capacity of the traditional sources of support for social research in the universities and the foundations to provide. In recent years a number of business firms have set up large research departments, but so far these have tended to be concerned with problems so immediately close to the practical level that, unless balanced by much more fundamental research oriented to scientific problems as such, they are not likely to contribute very much to what is most crucially needed.

Therefore, it seems that an essential source for the kind of support needed for many new developments of social science lies in government. At the same time we should be vividly aware of the dangers which such support may carry if it is not introduced and administered with the greatest care. Above all, it would be very dangerous to have large funds suddenly placed at the disposal of the social sciences suddenly with strong pressure to expand the scale of expenditure without very thorough planning and careful organization. Under such circumstances much of the money would be likely to fall into the hands of mediocre and inexperienced people and very quickly create a powerful vested in-

terest in the continuation of work of a poor quality. Above all, the grant of funds should be highly selective, and should not be so rapid that the training of personnel thoroughly vested in the most advanced state of their field and of a caliber to advance them further, cannot keep up. The broad answer to the second question is, then, that the social sciences are in a state profitably to make use of very substantially increased resources, indeed, their availability is essential to their healthy development. The quality of personnel and tradition in the field is, however, so uneven, that there are serious dangers attendant on a large and rapid increase of available resources. If it is not very carefully handled it could readily turn into a very dubious kind of “pork barrel” situation.<sup>18</sup>

With regard to the last question, there are, of course, serious dangers in the involvement of the social science fields with government, probably more serious than is the case with the natural sciences, because at some points the problems involved will inevitably impinge on political sentiments and interests and lead to pressures for various kinds of control which might be detrimental to the sound development of the disciplines themselves. This danger must be recognized and can only be minimized, not altogether eliminated.

The independence of the learned professions, and particularly of the profession which is the trustee of the intellectual basis of all the professions, that of research and the higher levels of teaching, is one of the most fundamental bases of our social structure. It has above all become institutionalized in the university traditions of academic freedom. The first prerequisite of support from outside this framework must be that it does not destroy this independence or unduly limit it. One of the soundest features of the proposals for a Science Foundation is that university groups should continue their leading role in science. Leading university scien-

<sup>18</sup> On this whole phase of the problem, see Philip M. Hauser's “Are the Social Sciences Ready?” *American Sociological Review*, August, 1946.

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tists would serve in advisory capacities, and the bulk of the work would not be undertaken by agencies of government itself, but especially by university groups, with careful safeguards of their independence.

But the independence of the universities which is the most important protection of scientific disinterestedness is always relatively precarious. Its first line of protection is the value pattern itself, and the prestige of their achievements, but a second line of by no means negligible importance lies in a balancing of the pressures which might impinge upon it. Traditionally in this country we have had both privately endowed and state universities. One group is perhaps subject above all to the pressure of financial interests among their donors and trustees; the other to popular political pressures. But the fact that both are involved in a single system with common standards, both competing for services from the same reservoir of personnel, serves as an important protection against both sources of pressure. If the pressure is too great on either type it will tend to deteriorate, above all by loss of the ablest men to the other which is in a position to protect them against such pressure.

This principle is also important in the organization of the support of research. Though both universities and privately endowed foundations have been ultimately dependent on funds from business sources to a very high degree, both have been able to maintain a rather large measure of independence in their use. The source of these funds, mainly from large private fortunes is, however, unlikely to be nearly so large in the coming decades as it has been in the past. There has been a tendency in recent years for an increasingly large role to be played by direct support from business firms, either in their own laboratories, or by grants to university groups. This tendency is to be welcomed in that it broadens the base of support of research and of employment opportunity for trained personnel. At the same time it has its very serious dangers if it is not balanced by a different type of source. This seems, then, to be one of the most important considerations in favor of govern-

ment support of research, including that in social science, that without it, even if the funds forthcoming were adequate, they would have to come predominantly from industry<sup>19</sup> and this is an undesirably one-sided and concentrated source. If it is balanced by governmental support there would, if it is properly managed, be a much sounder situation. By the same token there should be adequate safeguards against a situation developing where research was too predominantly dependent on government support, lest this become equally confining with that too predominantly from industry. The soundest situation will be one in which universities from their own resources, private foundations, labor, industry and government are all in a state of healthy competition for support of the ablest research workers in all fields of science.

In conclusion, one further general consideration may be mentioned in favor of the inclusion of the social sciences in a federal program. The urgency of the social problems of our time, and their close connection at so many points with technological development means that someone is inevitably going to undertake action to solve them. As experts on technology many natural scientists will tend to consider it their responsibility to attempt to intervene in this field. The enormous popular prestige of the natural scientists will favor this tendency, since their pronouncements on almost any subject, whether or not it falls within their field of special competence, are widely considered as oracular. But in so far as social science has any validity at all, *scientific* competence in the field of social problems can only be the result of a professional level of training and experience in the specific subject-matter. If, that is, we are to be moving more and more into a scientific age, and science is to help solve its social problems, it must be social science which does so. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that as rapidly as possible the social sciences be brought as nearly to a level of co-ordinate achievement and prestige with

<sup>19</sup> Labor unions are also an important possible source of support to help balance the others.

their sister disciplines as can be achieved. Federal financial support by itself cannot achieve this. It can, however, be a major factor in helping to bring it about, and the exclusion of the social sciences from such

support while it is tendered to the natural sciences would impose a grave handicap on the social sciences which could hardly fail to be detrimental to the larger interests of the nation.

## LENGTH OF TIME REQUIRED TO ACHIEVE ADJUSTMENT IN MARRIAGE

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THIS is a report of a study of married people designed to gain information on the number of months or years it takes to arrive at an adjustment in marital relationships.<sup>1</sup> Our hypothesis was that not only does it take months or years to arrive at adjustments in marriage but also that there is a definite relationship between the time taken to adjust in the different areas and the happiness of the marriage.

We use the term adjustment in this study to refer to a working arrangement which exists in marriage. This arrangement could be one which is mutually satisfactory or one which is satisfactory to one spouse but unsatisfactory to the other. The term adjustment is used, then, to refer to the state of accommodation which is achieved in different areas where conflict may exist in marriage.

Nine hundred freshman and sophomore students at Michigan State College were asked to send copies of a four-page questionnaire to their parents or to friends with a request that the questionnaires be filled in and returned.<sup>2</sup> It was made clear that the responses were to be anonymous.

<sup>1</sup> The Burgess-Cottrell and Terman studies gave information on the factors associated with happiness in marriage. They did not consider the length of time to adjust in marriage and its relationship to happiness in marriage. Burgess, Ernest W., and Cottrell, Leonard S. Jr. *Predicting Success or Failure in Marriage*, Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 1939. Terman, Lewis M. *Psychological Factors in Marital Happiness*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1938.

<sup>2</sup> The students were in the Basic College course

Each spouse was asked to respond to the questionnaire independently of the other spouse. They were asked to check how long it had taken them to work out an adjustment in each of the following six areas: spending the family income, relationships with in-laws, sex relations, religious life in the home, choosing and associating with mutual friends, and social activities and recreation. They were also asked to state their present adjustment in each of these areas and in one other area, the training and disciplining of the children. In addition, they were asked to rate the happiness of their marriage.

The study is in the main, a study of successful marriages. The sample represents a select group in the following respects: the marriages have existed an average of twenty years; no divorced or separated people were included in the sample; the respondents were largely the parents of college students; the incomes were above the average of the general population; and the number of years of education were above the average of the general population.<sup>3</sup> The sample is probably

in Effective Living. They were told that the information gained would be summarized and presented to them in the term of the course in which marriage and family relationships are studied.

<sup>3</sup> Forty-eight per cent of those responding classified their marriages as very happy, 34.6 per cent happy, 16.4 per cent as average, and less than one per cent as unhappy or very unhappy. Thirty-four per cent received incomes from \$1,000 to \$2,000, 36 per cent from \$3,000 to \$4,000, 22 per cent from \$5,000 to \$9,999, and 8 per cent from \$10,000 and over. Twenty-three per cent had had a grade school

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representative of the parents of college students for whom courses in marriage and family relationships are being organized. One of the motives for initiating the study was to gain information useful in building a course in marriage for college students.

The response to the questionnaires was very good. There was a return of over fifty per cent, and the replies were quite complete. Many comments were given explaining the difficulties in each area. Responses that were incomplete were discarded and those cases were eliminated in which only one partner of the marriage responded. After such eliminations the responses of 409 couples were used for the analyses. The information was put on punch cards and an analysis made by length of time required to make an adjustment in each area. In addition, the data on length of time required to achieve adjustment in each area were analyzed by years of education, years of marriage, age at marriage, and church attendance. Happiness ratings of the marriages were also analyzed by these same factors.

*Length of Time Required to Adjust in Sex Relations:* Husbands and wives agreed that it took longer to achieve a satisfactory adjustment in sex relations than in any other area in which adjustment had to be made. Slightly over one-half of the couples felt that they had made a satisfactory adjustment from the beginning. Of the husbands an additional 15.2 per cent felt that there had been a satisfactory adjustment from the beginning, while a further 8.8 per cent of the wives felt there had been a satisfactory adjustment from the beginning. In these cases, however, the other spouse did not agree. The disagreeing spouse stated that it had taken months or years, or that a satisfactory adjustment in sex relations had never been made. It will be noticed that the husbands more frequently than the wives stated that the sex adjustment was satisfactory from the beginning. Approximately 12 per cent of the men and women reported that they had made a satis-

factory adjustment within the first year, and ten per cent in from one to 20 years, the average being six years. Twelve per cent of the individuals felt that there had never been a satisfactory adjustment, and six per cent of the couples agreed on this point. Four per cent of the wives and seven per cent of the husbands made statements that conflicted with those of the other spouse on sex adjustment. These two groups stated that a satisfactory adjustment had never been achieved, while their spouses stated that the adjustment had been satisfactory. (See Table I and Figure 1.)

TABLE I. PERCENTAGES OF 409 COUPLES REPORTING VARIOUS PERIODS OF TIME REQUIRED AFTER MARRIAGE TO ACHIEVE ADJUSTMENT IN SEX RELATIONS

Length of Time Required	Wife	Husband	Both
From the Beginning			
Spouses Agreed	51.6	51.6	51.6
Spouses Disagreed	8.8	15.2	12.0
1-12 months	14.8	9.7	12.2
1-20 years	11.7	8.1	9.8
Never Adjusted			
Spouses Agreed	6.6	6.6	6.6
Spouses Disagreed	4.2	7.1	5.6
No Information	2.3	1.7	2.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

*Time to Make Adjustments on Spending the Family Income:* Husbands and wives agreed in stating that the second most difficult area of adjustment was in the spending of the family income.<sup>4</sup> There were no significant sex differences in the time the individuals reported that it had taken to achieve a satisfactory adjustment other than that the men were slightly more optimistic in reporting that everything was satisfactory from the beginning. It will be noticed (See Table II) that 56 per cent of the couples agreed that they made the adjustment from the beginning and that in the cases of an additional

<sup>4</sup>"Spending the family income" included earnings, spending, saving, insufficient income, and budgeting.

education, 43 per cent, a high school education, and 34 per cent, a college education.



11 per cent of the couples one spouse or the other thought it had been satisfactory. In about equal percentages the disagreeing spouses said that it had taken one year, several years, or that they had never made the adjustment. Approximately nine per cent felt the adjustment had been made within the

adjustment had been made from the beginning. It is interesting to note, in these cases of disagreement, that the one spouse who thought the adjustment was satisfactory from the beginning also checked the statement "it is satisfactory for both of us."

*Time to Make Adjustment in Social Activi-*

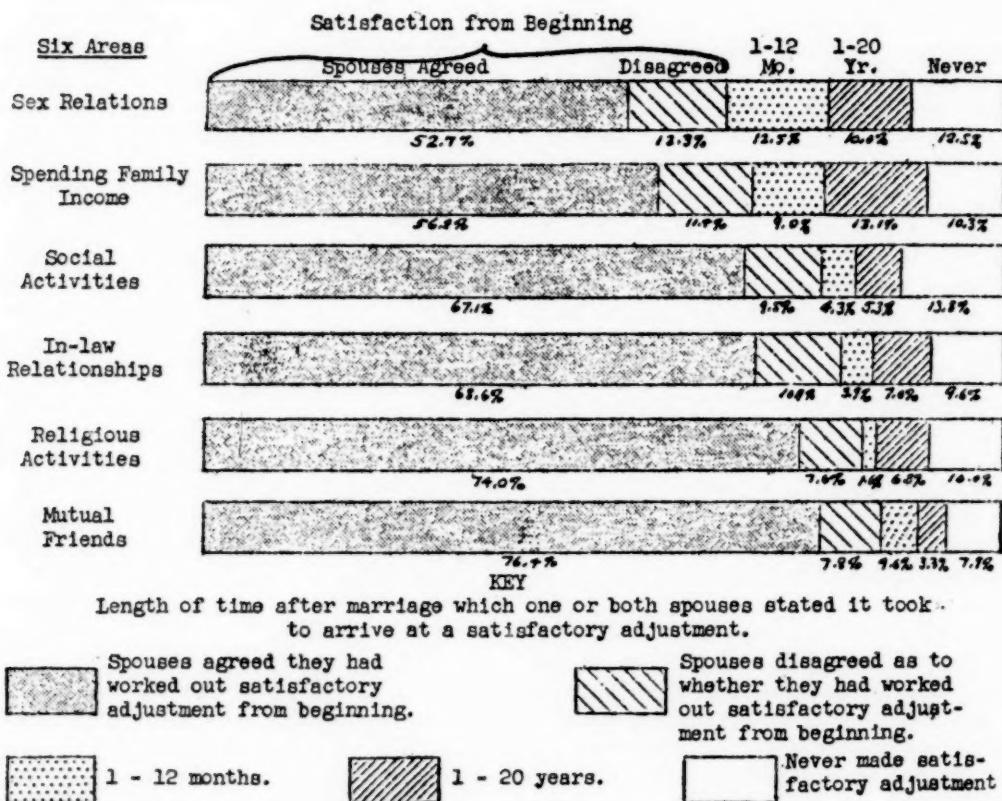


FIGURE 1. Percentages of 409 Couples Reporting Various Periods of Time After Marriage to Achieve Adjustments in Six Areas: Sex Relations, Spending the Family Income, Social Activities, In-Law Relationships, Religious Activities, and Associating with Mutual Friends.

first year and 13 per cent within one to 20 years, the average number of years required being seven. One couple reported that it was 34 years before they reached a satisfactory adjustment. About ten per cent of the men and women stated they had never made a satisfactory adjustment, five per cent of the couples agreeing. In the other cases one spouse felt that no adjustment had been made, while the other usually felt that the

ties: The area which was listed as ranking third in length of time required to make the adjustment was the area centering around social activities and recreation. It is not as serious as making an adjustment in sex and spending the family income, standing about half-way between the two extreme areas of least difficulty and most difficulty. Of all the couples, 66.8 per cent agreed that they had made the adjustment from the beginning. In

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nine per cent more cases one spouse thought it had been satisfactory from the beginning; a slightly larger percentage of the husbands feeling that the adjustment had been satisfactory from the beginning. Four per cent of the men and women stated that an adjustment had been made within the first year, 5.6 per cent said it took from one to twenty years, and 13.6 per cent said there had never been a satisfactory adjustment in this area. A larger percentage of women reported that

TABLE II. PERCENTAGES OF 409 COUPLES REPORTING VARIOUS PERIODS OF TIME REQUIRED AFTER MARRIAGE TO ACHIEVE ADJUSTMENT IN SPENDING THE FAMILY INCOME CLASSIFIED BY SEX

Length of Time Required	Wife	Husband	Both
From the Beginning			
Spouses Agreed	56.0	56.0	56.0
Spouses Disagreed	10.5	12.2	11.4
1-12 months	9.1	8.8	8.9
1-20 years	13.6	12.4	13.2
Never Adjusted			
Spouses Agreed	5.1	5.1	5.1
Spouses Disagreed	4.9	5.4	5.1
No Information	.8	.1	.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

they had never made a satisfactory adjustment in the realm of social activities than in any other single area. (See Table III.) The 45 men and women who reported that they had reached a satisfactory adjustment in from one to twenty years gave an average of seven years.

*Time to Make Adjustment on In-Law Relationships:* Approximately the same percentage of the couples, 67.3 per cent, reported a satisfactory adjustment on relationships with in-laws from the beginning as on social activities. (See Table IV.) In 10.7 per cent more instances, one spouse felt that the adjustment had been satisfactory from the beginning. Within the first year 3.8 per cent achieved an adjustment, and 6.8 per cent in from one to twenty years; the average being eight and one-half years. Those feeling that they had never made a satisfactory adjust-

TABLE III. PERCENTAGES OF 409 COUPLES REPORTING VARIOUS PERIODS OF TIME REQUIRED AFTER MARRIAGE TO ACHIEVE ADJUSTMENT IN SOCIAL ACTIVITIES AND RECREATION CLASSIFIED BY SEX

Length of Time Required	Wife	Husband	Both
From the Beginning			
Spouses Agreed	66.8	66.8	66.8
Spouses Disagreed	7.8	11.0	9.4
1-12 months	4.9	3.6	4.3
1-20 years	5.7	5.5	5.6
Never Adjusted	14.2	13.0	13.6
No Information	.6	.1	.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

ment in relationships with their in-laws totaled 9.4 per cent.

*Time to Adjust in Religion:* Making an adjustment in the religious life of a couple required less time than in most other areas. This may be because many churches discourage "mixed marriages." Parents also encourage their children to marry those of the same faith so that young people are more awake to the problems in this area than in other adjustment areas of marriage. A satisfactory adjustment from the beginning was achieved by 73.6 per cent of the couples. In 7.6 per cent more cases, one spouse felt that the adjustment had been satisfactory from the beginning. Again, the husbands were a little more liberal in stating that the adjustment was satisfactory from the beginning. Among the remainder, only 1.5 per cent said they

TABLE IV. PERCENTAGES OF 409 COUPLES REPORTING VARIOUS PERIODS OF TIME REQUIRED AFTER MARRIAGE TO ACHIEVE ADJUSTMENT IN IN-LAW RELATIONSHIPS CLASSIFIED BY SEX

Length of Time Required	Wife	Husband	Both
From the Beginning			
Spouses Agreed	67.3	67.3	67.3
Spouses Disagreed	8.6	12.7	10.7
1-12 months	4.4	3.2	3.8
1-20 years	7.1	6.6	6.8
Never Adjusted	10.3	8.8	9.4
No Information	2.3	1.4	2.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE V. PERCENTAGES OF 409 COUPLES REPORTING VARIOUS PERIODS OF TIME REQUIRED AFTER MARRIAGE TO ACHIEVE ADJUSTMENT IN RELIGION CLASSIFIED BY SEX

Length of Time Required	Wife	Husband	Both
From the Beginning			
Spouses Agreed	73.6	73.6	73.6
Spouses Disagreed	5.6	9.6	7.6
1-12 months	1.9	1.2	1.5
1-20 years	7.1	6.3	6.0
Never Adjusted	11.3	8.8	9.9
No Information	.5	.5	.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

had worked out an adjustment in the first year, and 6.9 per cent in from one to 20 years, with an average of approximately six years. Almost ten per cent stated that they had never arrived at a satisfactory adjustment. A larger percentage of the women than the men felt that the adjustment had never been satisfactory. (See Table V.)

*Time to Make Adjustment with Mutual Friends:* The area in which the 409 couples found the least difficulty in adjusting was in choosing and associating with mutual friends. Seventy-six per cent of the couples agreed that their adjustment in this area had been satisfactory from the beginning. In 7.7 per cent more instances one spouse thought it had been satisfactory from the beginning. Approximately five per cent of the couples stated that they had made the adjustment during the first year, 3.3 per cent in from one to 20 years, with an average of five and one-half years, while 7.7 per cent felt that there had never been a satisfactory adjustment. Again more women than men reported that the adjustment had never been satisfactory. (See Table VI.)

We have seen that the sexes agreed in rating the six areas in the same order of difficulty. They agreed fairly well on the length of time required to make the adjustment or in stating that they had never made the adjustments. There was a tendency for a larger percentage of the men to state that the adjustment had been satisfactory from the

beginning in all areas and, with the exception of sex and income, for fewer to state that they had never made the adjustment. This supports the conclusion that in our culture the wife has to make a great adjustment in marriage than does the husband.<sup>5</sup> She knows the situation is not satisfactory but she must adjust herself to the domination of the husband in the marriage relationship. The husband is frustrated more by failure to make the adjustments in sex relations and spending the family income, while the wife is more frustrated because of the failure to make a good adjustment in religion, in as-

TABLE VI. PERCENTAGES OF 409 COUPLES REPORTING VARIOUS PERIODS OF TIME REQUIRED AFTER MARRIAGE TO ACHIEVE ADJUSTMENT IN ASSOCIATING WITH MUTUAL FRIENDS CLASSIFIED BY SEX

Length of Time Required	Wife	Husband	Both
From the Beginning			
Spouses Agreed	76.1	76.1	76.1
Spouses Disagreed	6.1	9.3	7.7
1-12 months	4.9	4.4	4.7
1-20 years	3.4	3.1	3.3
Never Adjusted	8.8	6.9	7.7
No Information	.7	.2	.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

sociating with mutual friends, or in social activities.

*State of Adjustment in Each Area:* To see just what adjustment the couples had achieved in the six areas under discussion, each person was asked to check one of eight statements which described his present adjustment. It will be remembered that in each of the six areas, approximately ten per cent of the husbands and wives said they had never reached a satisfactory adjustment. The statements checked indicated that from 18 to 37 per cent of the couples had not achieved an adjustment "satisfactory to both" in the six areas. The largest group, 37 per cent,

<sup>5</sup> Burgess, Ernest W., and Cottrell, Leonard S. Jr. *Predicting Success or Failure in Marriage*, Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 1939, p. 341.

had not achieved a mutually satisfactory adjustment in sex relations, and the smallest group, 18 per cent, in associating with mutual friends. These husbands and wives reported that an adjustment had been made, but that it was satisfactory to one and not to the other. Some gave one of the other statements describing the adjustment. (See Table VII.)

*Adjust:* The relationship between the frequency of church attendance and time required for making adjustment was considered. There was found to be no consistently reliable relationship between those who go to church regularly and occasionally or never and the length of time required to adjust in marriage.

*Adjustment and Age at Marriage:* The

TABLE VII. PERCENTAGES OF 409 COUPLES REPORTING VARIOUS DEGREES OF PRESENT ADJUSTMENT IN SEVEN AREAS

Present Adjustment	Sex Relations	Social Activities	Child Training	Religion	Spending the Income	In-law Relationships	Mutual Friends
Satisfactory for me but unsatisfactory for my spouse	4.8	3.0	2.4	3.4	2.6	3.0	1.5
Satisfactory for my spouse but unsatisfactory for me	3.5	3.2	3.4	2.6	2.7	2.6	1.6
Satisfactory for both of us							
Spouses Agreed	63.1	72.1	70.7	75.8	77.0	76.5	82.1
Spouses Disagreed	16.2	9.8	13.1	8.3	7.5	8.4	7.1
Unsatisfactory for both of us but working toward a better adjustment	2.4	3.4	5.8	2.6	6.0	1.9	3.0
At a standstill in adjustment	2.2	2.4	.5	2.5	1.2	.7	.9
Have many quarrels over it	.9	.7	2.8	.2	.6	.2	.6
Never discuss the subject	3.9	2.1	.7	3.2	.7	3.0	2.0
Think we will never reach a satisfactory adjustment	3.0	3.3	.6	1.4	1.7	3.7	1.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

*Time Required for Making Adjustment in Relation to Education:* As was noted earlier, 23 per cent of the 818 spouses were grade school graduates, 43 per cent high school graduates, and 34 per cent college graduates. No consistent relationship could be found to exist between increased years of education and the length of time required to adjust in the six areas. In working out an adjustment in social activities there was a slight positive association between increasing years of education and length of time to adjust; in sex relations, spending the family income, and in-law relationships there was a very slight negative association; and in religious activities and associating with mutual friends there was no difference in the length of time required to adjust.

*Church Attendance and Length of Time to*

length of time required to make satisfactory adjustments in the various areas was analyzed by age at marriage. The age at marriage was of significant importance in determining how soon people achieved a satisfactory adjustment in the different areas. With one exception, religion, those married under 20 made a poor adjustment when compared with those who married over 20. Again, with two exceptions (In-law relationships and the choice of mutual friends) those who were married at 30 years or older made a better adjustment than those married at any other age. The greatest difference was found in the adjustment in the area of sex relations. Only 47 per cent of the men who married under 20 said the adjustment was satisfactory from the beginning, while 83 per cent of the men who were 30 and over



when they married said the adjustment was satisfactory from the beginning. There was a great sex difference in these two groups. Both men and women who married under 20 had difficulty in adjusting in sex relations, but it was especially the men who experienced difficulty. Of those who married over 30, it was the men who reported the greatest

This might be explained by a greater tendency for parents to interfere or to attempt to supervise when very young people marry. However, the women who married between 15 and 29 got along as well with the in-laws as did those who married later. The women who married at 30 or over included more who failed to get along with the in-laws from

TABLE VIII. PERCENTAGES OF S18 SPOUSES REPORTING VARIOUS PERIODS OF TIME REQUIRED FOR ADJUSTMENT IN SEX RELATIONS, CLASSIFIED BY SEX AND BY AGE AT MARRIAGE

Length of Time Required	Age Married											
	15-19			20-24			25-29			30 and over		
	Wife	Hus- band	Both	Wife	Hus- band	Both	Wife	Hus- band	Both	Wife	Hus- band	Both
From Beginning	57.4	46.7	55.3	67.2	68.5	64.8	60.0	61.4	60.8	66.7	83.1	79.3
1-12 months	16.4	20.1	17.1	16.5	8.0	13.0	13.7	13.6	13.5	9.5	2.8	4.4
1-20 years	13.1	20.0	14.5	11.7	9.4	10.7	13.7	8.6	10.6	—	5.6	4.3
Never Adjusted	11.4	13.2	11.8	8.6	13.4	10.6	11.8	16.0	14.3	19.1	7.0	9.8
No Information	1.7	—	1.3	1.0	.7	.9	.8	.4	.8	4.7	1.5	2.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

degree of success rather than the women. (See Table VIII.) The men who married at the age of 30 or over included fewer who never made a satisfactory adjustment in sex relations than any other age group. In this same group, however, there were more women who had never adjusted in sex relations than there were in any other age group.

Although the percentages were different, the same pattern existed with relation to the age of marriage among males and spending the family income. The men who married under 20 had the greatest difficulty, while those who married at 30 and over had the least difficulty.

In the realm of social activities, the same pattern also appears, with the exception that the sex difference is not present. Both the men and women who married under 20 reported the highest percentage of failures at the beginning and both reported the greater success among those who married when 30 or over. The men who married under 20 seemed to have much more difficulty in making the adjustment with the in-laws from the beginning than did those who married later.

the beginning and more who had never adjusted with the in-laws. When the age of marriage was related to the time required to make the adjustment in religion and with mutual friends, no pronounced difference was found in the age groups. Those who married when 30 or over had a slightly better chance to make an adjustment in both areas early in marriage and, in addition, there were fewer who never made the adjustment. Again, it was the men who married under 20 who had the most difficulty.

*Number of Years Married and Adjustment in Six Areas:* Since the questionnaire was answered by people who had been married from one to 40 years, the question arose as to whether those who had been married 30 years or more might have forgotten the difficulties they experienced in the earlier years of their marriage and that those who had been married under ten years might exaggerate the problems of early marriage. Therefore, a breakdown by ten-year periods was made to learn whether the duration of the marriage had affected the responses given. The analysis showed that all four

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# LENGTH OF TIME REQUIRED TO ACHIEVE ADJUSTMENT IN MARRIAGE 673

ten-year groups rated the areas in the same order. It is true, however, that those who had been married from 30 to 40 years reported a greater percentage of successful adjustments from the beginning and in general reported fewer cases in which they had

by about five per cent with each successive age group, so that 70 per cent of the spouses who had been married 30 years and over said the adjustment was satisfactory from the beginning. Of those who have never made an adjustment, there were the most failures

TABLE IX. PERCENTAGES OF 818 SPOUSES REPORTING VARIOUS PERIODS OF TIME REQUIRED FOR ADJUSTMENT IN SPENDING THE FAMILY INCOME CLASSIFIED BY HAPPINESS AND BY SEX

Length of Time Required	Happiness Rating and Sex								
	Very Happy			Happy			Average		
	Wife	Husband	Both	Wife	Husband	Both	Wife	Husband	Both
From Beginning	78.2	76.2	77.2	58.2	70.4	64.3	51.5	41.7	46.4
1-12 months	9.6	7.8	8.8	10.7	11.2	10.9	4.4	7.0	5.7
1-20 years	7.1	10.4	8.7	21.3	13.4	17.3	17.7	15.3	16.4
Never Adjusted	4.6	5.6	5.1	9.2	4.2	6.7	26.4	36.0	31.5
No Information	.5	—	.2	.6	.8	.8	—	—	—
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE X. PERCENTAGES OF 409 COUPLES REPORTING VARIOUS PERIODS OF TIME REQUIRED AFTER MARRIAGE TO ACHIEVE ADJUSTMENT IN SEX RELATIONS CLASSIFIED BY HAPPINESS AND HUSBANDS AND WIVES

Length of Time Required	Very Happy			Happy			Average		
	Wife	Husband	Both	Wife	Husband	Both	Wife	Husband	Both
From Beginning	67.5	74.1	70.8	61.7	67.6	64.7	39.7	44.5	42.1
1-12 months	18.3	13.0	15.6	14.2	7.0	10.7	7.4	5.6	6.5
1-20 years	9.6	9.3	9.5	14.2	8.5	11.3	14.7	8.3	11.4
Never	3.6	2.1	2.8	8.5	16.2	12.2	33.8	40.3	37.1
No Information	1.0	1.5	1.3	1.4	.7	1.1	4.4	1.3	2.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

never made an adjustment. The exception here was in sex relations in which those married from 30 to 40 years reported a greater percentage of failures than any other group.

Studying the relationship between the duration of the marriage and the time required to make adjustments showed that the greatest difference was in adjustment in sex relations. Only 56 per cent of the spouses who had been married from one to ten years said the adjustment had been satisfactory from the beginning. The percentage increased

among the women who had been married under ten years and among the men who had been married over 30 years.

A study of the relationship between the duration of the marriage and the adjustment in spending the family income, in social activities, and in adjusting to mutual friends showed little variation with the exception that as noted above, there were more who made successful adjustments from the beginning and fewer who never made a satisfactory adjustment among those married 30 or more years. In the area of religion the largest

percentage of successful adjustments from the beginning was reported by those who had been married from one to ten years. The couples who reported greatest difficulty in adjusting to in-law relationships from the beginning had been married from one to 20 years.

*Happiness of Marriage:* After completing the questionnaire, each person was asked to check a phrase which most nearly described his marriage: very happy, happy, average, unhappy, or very unhappy.<sup>6</sup> Since these marriages have lasted an average of 20 years, one would not expect to find many unhappy marriages. Forty-eight per cent said the marriage had been very happy, 34.6 per cent

with the increase in time required to make satisfactory adjustments. (See Table IX and X. Because of limited space, tables on the other four areas are not included.)

The question arises as to whether a marriage can be very happy if there has never been a satisfactory adjustment in some area or areas. Of those who made an adjustment from the beginning in sex relations, 53.3 per cent said they were very happy, 35.3 happy, and only 11.4 per cent said they were average in happiness. On the other hand, of those who had never made an adjustment in sex, the figures are reversed. A rating of very happy was given by 11.2 per cent, happy by 36.7 per cent, and a rating of average by

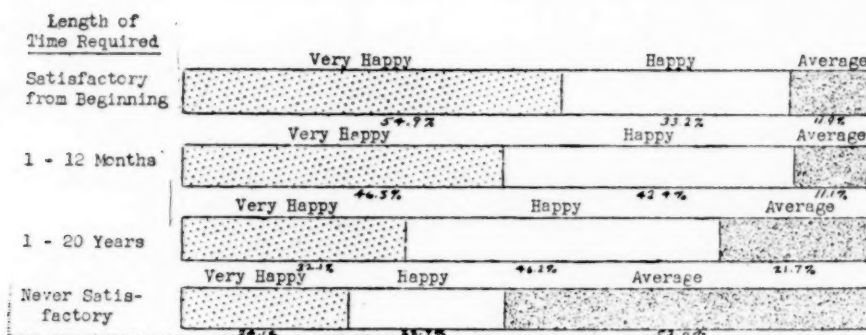


FIGURE 2. Degree of Self-Rated Happiness of 400 Couples Reporting Various Lengths of Time Required to Make Adjustments in Spending the Family Income

happy, 16.4 per cent average, and .8 per cent unhappy or very unhappy. There were no sex differences in the rating of the happiness of the marriages. A very close relationship existed between the length of time required to adjust and the rating of the happiness of the marriage. A greater percentage of those who made their adjustment from the beginning in each area rated the marriage as very happy. There was a gradual decrease in the percentage of very happy

53.1 per cent. In general, the same pattern existed in all areas: those who never made a satisfactory adjustment in an area were more likely to consider their marriage average in happiness. (See Figure 2.) There was a sex difference, more women than men saying their marriage had been average if there had never been an adjustment with mutual friends or in social activities. On the other hand, more men than women said their marriage had been average if the adjustment had never been satisfactory in sex relations or in spending the income.

*Failure to Adjust in More Than One Area and Happiness:* If spouses agreed that they had failed to make adjustments in any two areas, approximately four out of five of the marriages were classified as average or un-

<sup>6</sup> The same five degrees of happiness were used by Burgess and Cottrell. In that study 42.6 were very happy, 20.5 happy, 14.4 average, 13.5 unhappy, and 8.0 very unhappy. Since there were divorced people in the Burgess-Cottrell study, one would not expect so many happy marriages as were found in this study. Burgess and Cottrell, p. 32.

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happy. If they failed to adjust in three or more areas, all were in the average or unhappy classification. Only one couple agreed that they had never adjusted in as many as five areas. This would be expected since this is a study of successful marriage. Some couples were contemplating divorce who had failed to adjust in from two to five areas. (See Figure 3.)

by income showed that those who had incomes of \$5,000 and over were more likely to be found in the happy group and a smaller percentage found in the average group than those who had less than a \$5,000 income. An analysis by number of years married indicated that those who had been married under ten years reported the largest percentage of very happy marriages and the smallest per-

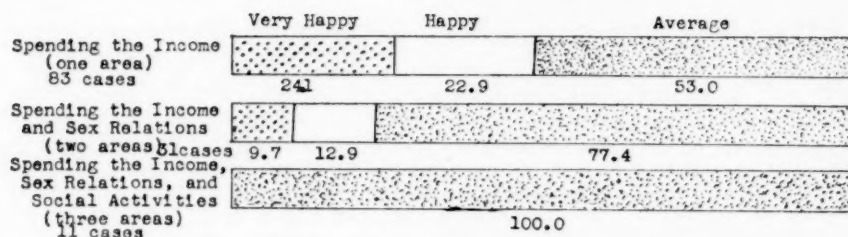


FIGURE 3. Happiness of Marriages in which Couples Had Never Adjusted in One, Two, or Three Areas

*Age at Marriage, Income, Years Married, Education, Health, Church Attendance, and Happiness:* When an analysis was made of happiness ratings of the marriages by the age at which men and women married, it was found that a smaller percentage of those who married under 20 years reported their marriages as being very happy, the men experiencing the greater difficulty.<sup>7</sup> Of the husbands the largest percentage of very happy marriages was among those who had married at the age of 30 or over, of the wives those who had married between the ages of 20 to 24.<sup>8</sup> An analysis of the happiness rating

centages of average marriages, while those who had been married 30 to 40 years reported the fewest very happy marriages and the largest percentage of average marriages. The reporting of fewer happy marriages in the older age group would seem to be an indication of a somewhat different outlook on life rather than evidence that marriages become less happy as people grow older.<sup>9</sup> A significant relationship existed between health and happiness in marriage. Of those who had very good health, 63 per cent said the marriage was very happy and only eight per cent termed it average, while of those with poor health 46 per cent said the marriage was very happy and 19 per cent average. Those who were regular church attendants rated their marriages as very happy in greater numbers than those who attended church occasionally or never. A slightly larger percentage of those having a college education rated their marriage as very happy and a smaller percentage rated the marriage

<sup>7</sup> Terman and Burgess and Cottrell found a significant relationship between the age at marriage and happiness in marriage. However, their studies showed that it was the wife who married under 20 who experienced the greater difficulty in achieving happiness in marriage. Terman, Lewis M. *Psychological Factors in Marital Happiness*, pp. 180-183, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1938. Burgess, E. W. and Cottrell, L. S. Jr., *Predicting Success or Failure in Marriage*, pp. 115-117, Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 1939.

<sup>8</sup> This agrees fairly well with the study by Hart and Shields who found the ideal age for grooms to be about 29 years and, for brides, about 24 years. Hart, Hornell, and Shields, Wilmer, "Happiness in Relation to Age of Marriage," *Social Hygiene*, 12: 403-410, 1926. It does not agree with the Burgess-Cottrell study which found more poor ad-

justments among men married at 31 and over and more good adjustments among women married at 28 and over.

<sup>9</sup> Landis, Judson T., "What is the Happiest Period in Life?" *School and Society*, June 6, 1942. People aged 65 to 100 said they were happiest between the ages of 25 and 45.

as unhappy when compared with those who had a high school or a grade school education. The amount of education was more closely related to the happiness of the women

non-childless husbands and wives.<sup>10</sup> The data of both Hamilton and Bernard agreed with the Terman findings.<sup>11</sup> The findings of Mowrer and Mowrer agreed with the present

TABLE XI. PERCENTAGES OF 818 SPOUSES REPORTING VARIOUS DEGREES OF HAPPINESS CLASSIFIED BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN

Degree of Happiness	Number of Children								
	None			1-4			5 up		
	Wife	Husband	Both	Wife	Husband	Both	Wife	Husband	Both
Very Happy	55.3	51.1	53.2	47.6	46.8	47.2	40.0	46.8	43.4
Happy	21.3	27.7	24.5	35.4	35.6	35.5	46.7	36.7	41.7
Average	19.2	17.0	18.1	16.3	16.7	16.5	13.3	13.3	13.3
Unhappy	2.1	2.1	2.1	.5	.6	.5	—	—	—
No Information	2.1	2.1	2.1	.2	.3	.3	—	3.2	1.6

than it was to the happiness of the men.

A greater percentage of the 94 people with no children were very happy and a greater percentage were average in happiness than the 658 people with one to four children or the 60 people with five or more children. The greatest difference was found among the women. If they had no children, 55 per cent said they were very happy, if one to four children 47 per cent, and if five or more children 40 per cent said they were very happy. If they had no children 21 per cent said they were average in happiness, if one to four children 17 per cent, and if five or more children 13 per cent. (See Table XI.) Terman found no significant difference between the happiness scores of childless and

study in that the chances for successful adjustment decrease as the number of children increases.<sup>12</sup> Burgess and Cottrell found more good adjustments among couples with one or no children than among couples with two or more children.<sup>13</sup>

Husbands and wives agreed fairly well on the happiness rating of their marriages. When there was disagreement the spouse tended to place the marriage on the next higher or on the next lower rating with only 16 of the couples disagreeing to the extent that one spouse rated the happiness of the marriage as very happy while the other rated it as average.<sup>14</sup> (See Table XII.)

#### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Husbands and wives, regardless of age

TABLE XII. AGREEMENT AND DISAGREEMENT OF 409 HUSBANDS AND WIVES IN RATING THE HAPPINESS OF THEIR MARRIAGE

	Number	Percentage
Ratings that agree	259	63.3
Ratings that agree within one category	126	30.9
Ratings that disagree by two or more categories	16	3.8
No Information	8	2.0
Total	409	100.0

<sup>10</sup> Terman, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

<sup>11</sup> Bernard, Jessie, "Factors in the Distribution of Success in Marriage," *American Journal of Sociology*, 1934, 40, 49-60.

<sup>12</sup> Mowrer, E. R. and Mowrer, A. R., *Domestic Discord*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1928.

<sup>13</sup> Burgess and Cottrell, *op. cit.*, p. 259.

<sup>14</sup> Although husbands and wives were asked to check the questionnaires independently of each other and to seal them in separate envelopes, there were doubtless some who did consult each other. However, the comments throughout the questionnaires would seem to show that most couples followed the instructions in this respect.

at marriage, years married, or years of education, reported it had taken more time to work out adjustment in sex relations than in any other area. They agreed in listing the rest of the areas in the following order: spending the family income, social activities and recreation, in-law relationships, religion in the home, and associating with mutual friends.

There was a very close relationship between the length of time required to adjust in marriage and the happiness of the marriage.

If couples failed to work out adjustment in two or more areas, they classified their marriage as average or unhappy.

The study confirms the findings of others that age at marriage, education, income, and

health are associated with happiness in marriage.

A similar study representing a cross-section of the population would doubtless produce different findings. This is a study of successful marriages among the parents of college students. It was felt that in building marriage courses for college students, there is need for information on successful marriage with attention to varying lengths of time required to achieve success in the different areas. It would be of value to conduct similar studies among the parents of college students in other parts of the country. It would also be desirable to get the same type of information from people representing different social, economic, residential, nationality, and racial backgrounds.

## THE $\frac{P_1 P_2}{D}$ HYPOTHESIS: ON THE INTERCITY MOVEMENT OF PERSONS

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IN THE present paper we shall show with supporting data that the number of persons that move between any two communities in the United States whose respective populations are  $P_1$  and  $P_2$  and which are separated by the shortest transportation distance,  $D$ , will be proportionate to the ratio,  $P_1 \cdot P_2 / D$ , subject to the effect of modifying factors.

The data in support of the above proposition are the highway, railway and airway data for an arbitrary set of cities during intervals of measurement in 1933-34. Before presenting the data, however, we shall give a brief theoretical discussion of the proposition itself with illustrations from other kinds of observations with which the above data are intimately connected.

### I. THEORETICAL DISCUSSION

In 1940 the author published the observation that the following equation of the generalized harmonic series described the recent

distribution of communities in India, Germany, and certain other countries including the United States (for communities of 2,500 or more inhabitants), when the communities are arranged in the order of decreasing size, with  $A$  representing the population of the largest community, and with the denominators referring to the ranks of the communities thus arranged:<sup>1</sup>

$$A \sum n = \frac{A}{1^p} + \frac{A}{2^p} + \frac{A}{3^p} + \dots + \frac{A}{n^p}$$

In Figure 1 are presented the United States urban data for 1930 and 1940, as indicated, to which an ideal line,  $A$ , with a negative slope of 1 (i.e.  $p = 1$ ) has been added to aid the reader's eye. The linearity of the data is apparent.

In 1941 the author presented a fuller

<sup>1</sup> Zipf, G. K. "The generalized harmonic series as a fundamental principle of social organization." *Psychological Record*, 4 (1940), 43.



treatment of the topic<sup>2</sup> and included a theoretical discussion, in the form of a lemma (ibid. pp. 91-135), of why the proportions of the generalized harmonic series will emerge in the communities of a national social system under the postulate of reducing to a minimum the sum of all products of masses moved, when multiplied by their re-

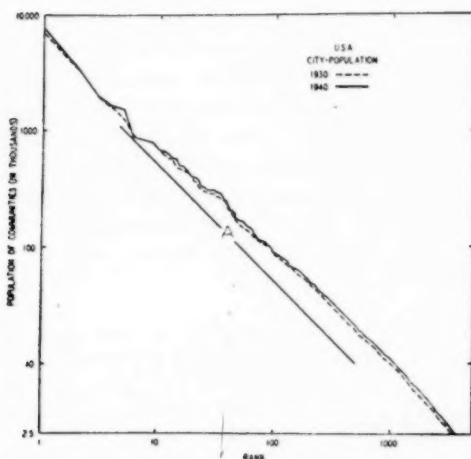


FIGURE 1. The Rank-Frequency Distribution of Communities in the United States in 1930 and 1940 (with the ideal line, *A*, with a negative slope of 1).

spective work-distances, *D*. This lemma set forth the reasons for the emergence of communities at all, and also for their number, relative sizes, and locations under the above work-minimum.

According to this lemma, the number, sizes, and locations of communities represent equilibria between *first* the economy of the population's living immediately at the source of its raw materials on the one hand (e.g. at the farm or at the mine pit), and, *second*, the economy of the population's living together in one big city where all the manufacturing is done. The *first* economy of living at the immediate source of raw materials saves the work of transporting the raw materials to the production-centers; the *second* economy of living in one big city where all

production is done saves the work of transporting the goods to the consumers. Since the population cannot live both in a lot of communities scattered over the terrain and at the same time in a single big city, it is obvious that the above two economies are in conflict. This conflict, if our lemma be correct, will govern the *n*-number of different communities and their respective *P*-population-sizes, for the following reasons.

To begin, if we assume that a given large terrain has a fixed total population, then the average *P*-population-size of the *n*-different communities will be inversely proportionate to *n*. As the *n*-number of different communities increases, their average *P*-sizes decrease, and *vice versa*.

Obviously the (*first*) economy of living at the immediate source of raw materials will act in the direction of making a large *n*-number of different communities of small *P*-sizes, if the terrain is reasonably homogeneous in its distribution of raw materials per unit of area in terms of cost in man-hours in procuring them. Because of its diversifying effect in terms of the number of different communities, this (*first*) localizing economy may be called the Force of Diversification.

By the same token, the opposite (*second*) economy which places a premium upon living together in one big city may be called the Force of Unification<sup>3</sup> since it acts in the direction of reducing the *n*-diversity of different communities to 1, while increasing the *P*-size of that 1 community to 100%.

The actual *n*-number of different communities and their respective *P*-sizes will depend upon the comparative magnitudes of these two quasi Forces, as we pointed out at the time in our above-mentioned lemma to which we here only refer. If we assume that in a given national social economy the Forces of Diversification and of Unification

<sup>3</sup> The Force of Unification comes ever more into operation as the goods of production become ever more diversified in respect of their components and hence ever less likely to be produced from raw materials that are found together in one location. In short this Force is associated with industrialization and trade. (See below.)

<sup>2</sup> Zipf, G. K. *National Unity and Disunity*, Bloomington, Ind.: Principia Press, 1941.

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are of equal magnitude at a given time, then, as far as the  $n$ -number and  $P$ -sizes of the resulting communities are concerned, we may expect to find the relationship of an equilateral hyperbola because of the nature of the factors involved. This would seem to be the case, under the assumption of a fixed total population, because one community can grow in  $P$ -size only at the expense of the  $n$ -number, or the  $P$ -sizes (or both) of the other communities.

If the relationship is indeed that of an equilateral hyperbola, then we should find that the  $n$  number of different cities, when ranked,  $r$ , in the order of their decreasing  $P$ -sizes, would follow the equation,  $r \cdot P = n$ , where  $r$  is the ordinal rank of the community, and where  $r = 1$  represents the rank of the largest community, and where  $r = n$  represents that of the smallest community, and where  $r$  takes on only positive integral values from 1 through  $n$ .

The data of Figure 1, plotted rather to the equation,  $\log r + a \log P = \log C$ , is not an inordinately bad fit of our equation.

Naturally as the magnitude of either the Force of Unification or the Force of Diversification becomes greater, then the relationship between  $r$  and  $P$  will change accordingly (the two being logarithmically related); thus for example, as a largely rural country becomes ever more extensively industrialized, as was the case in Germany from 1870 onwards, then the slope of the resulting rank-population curve will increase accordingly, as was the case with Germany.<sup>4</sup>

According to the above lemma which we are here summarizing only in barest outline, the number and sizes and locations of communities in a given social economy represent equilibria in the minimizing of work in transporting raw materials through industrial processes to consumers. This lemma, however, applies only to those social systems that for the most part produce what they consume and consume what they produce, and only under the assumption that the system is minimizing its total work in the

entire movement of all materials and persons.

Moreover it applies only to those cases where all members of the population get an approximately equal share of the national income in the sense that the average real income per person is about the same in any community regardless of its size, and where also an approximately equal percentage of persons in each community is gainfully employed.

Of course under the conditions of the above equal average income and of an equal proportion of gainfully employed, it follows that any community,  $P$ , will contribute to the total  $C$  production of the system an amount in value that is proportionate to  $P/C$ ; moreover it will receive from the system as a reward an amount in value that is proportionate to  $P/C$ . Or, if one will, a community,  $P$ , will *put-into-the-system-and-take-out-of-the-system* an amount that is proportionate to  $P/C$  during an interval of measurement. Naturally we are speaking only in terms of the monetary value of goods (including services) and in no way imply that the precise goods and services that are put into the system by a  $P$ -population are the ones taken out as their reward (cf. lemma, *op. cit.*). On the contrary each  $P$ -community is receiving goods and services from, and sending goods and services to, the rest of the population in the flow of goods and services through the economy.

Now, if during a given interval of measurement a community,  $P_1$ , has a share of the flow of goods, by value, that is equal to  $P_1/C$ , whereas community  $P_2$  during the same time has a share equal to  $P_2/C$ , then the interchange of goods, by value, between  $P_1$  and  $P_2$  would be proportionate to  $(P_1/C) (P_2/C)$ , or  $(P_1 \cdot P_2)/C^2$ , provided that we ignore the factor of the easiest intervening transportation distance,  $D$ .

If we remember, however, that the number, sizes, and locations of communities depend theoretically upon the minimizing of the work of transporting mass over distance —indeed they are equilibria between the opposing Forces of Unification and Diversi-

<sup>4</sup>For German population data 1875-1939 cf. Zipf, *National Unity*, *op. cit.*, p. 140f.

fication—then the interchange of goods between communities  $P_1$  and  $P_2$  will tend to be inversely proportionate to their intervening easiest transportation distance,  $D$ . With the addition of the factor,  $D$ , the interchange, in value, will be directly proportionate to  $\frac{P_1 P_2}{D}$  for any two cities in the economy.<sup>5</sup>

Obviously the factors,  $P_1$ ,  $P_2$  and  $D$  are empirically ascertainable for the communities of a given national social system, like the United States, and the problem of assessing the actual rate of flow between them for some classes of goods is not imponderable, even though information on the actual monetary value of interchanged goods during a given period is unavailable to the present writer.

But if we assume, for example, that the

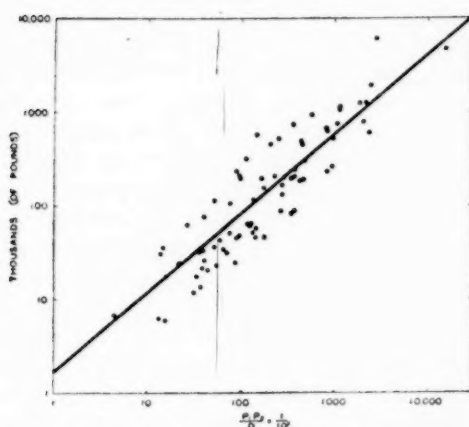


FIGURE 2. The movement of railway express (less carload lots) between 13 arbitrarily selected cities in the U.S.A. during May, 1939.

value of Railway Express per thousand pounds is fairly constant, then we can test the validity of our hypothesis by plotting the weight of Railway Express that is interchanged between a set of pairs of communities, and their respective values of  $P_1 \cdot P_2 /$

<sup>5</sup>Or, in equation form the  $Y$ -value of goods interchanged between any two cities,  $P_1$  and  $P_2$ , separated by distance  $D$  will be  $Y = \frac{P_1 \cdot P_2}{D}$ .

$D$ . This is done in Figure 2, for the interchange of Railway Express in thousands of pounds (in less than carload lots) during the month of May, 1939, between the following 13 cities—or 78 pairs of cities: 1. Boston, 2. Buffalo, 3. Chicago, 4. Cleveland, 5. Detroit, 6. Los Angeles, 7. Milwaukee, 8. New York, 9. Philadelphia, 10. Pittsburgh, 11. St. Louis, 12. San Francisco, 13. Washington, D.C.<sup>6</sup>

According to our theoretical expectations the values (dots) of our data in Figure 2 should be rectilinearly distributed with a positive slope of 1. In Figure 2 the line drawn was fitted by least squares whose slope is  $.85 \pm .31$ , or in equation form,  $\log y = .2157 + .8472 \log x$ . With a  $P. E.$  of .2, the value of .85 may be viewed as a non-significant variation from 1.00 in a set of data of four variables in which  $P$  varies from 500,000 to 700,000, and in which  $D$  varies from 100 to 3,000, and where the weight of Railway Express varies from 5,000 pounds to nearly 5 million pounds. In the initial publication of these data, reasons for the deviation of .15 from our expected slope are given.

Our theory is obviously confirmed by the above data, and so too our assumptions which, being explicit, we shall not repeat here. It is interesting to note, however, the close degree to which conditions in the United States in the fourth decade approximated those that we have anticipated theoretically.

At this point it is only natural for the reader to inquire into the intercity movement of materials by other means of transportation, such as by freight, parcel post and the like which theoretically should also follow our " $P_1 \cdot P_2 / D$  hypothesis," subject to quali-

<sup>6</sup>Originally published, Zipf, G. K., "The  $P_1 P_2 / D$  Hypothesis: The Case of Railway Express," *Journal of Psychology*, 22 (1946), 3-8. The data I owe to the kindness of Mr. L. O. Head, President of the Railway Express Agency. The values of  $D$  for all data in the present paper are the official military (shortest railway) distances of the War Department. The values throughout of  $P_1 P_2 / D$  have, for ease of representation, been divided by 10 million (i.e. multiplied by  $1/10^7$ ).

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fying factors in some particular cases. Before discussing the possibility of other kinds of data it is perhaps wise to point out at once that our theory calls for the movement of *all* goods and services by *all* means of transportation; the theory will not necessarily hold for each kind of transportation since we know that for some commodities one type of transportation is cheaper than another. The fact that our theory holds so well for Railway Express suggests that the service of Railway Express is of equal value to persons, regardless of the size of the cities or of their locations; the same may well be true of parcel post for which, unfortunately, data are lacking. Nevertheless in the case of mining communities or agricultural centers we may suspect that they ship out great values of bulky materials by railway freight while receiving payment in terms of less bulky materials that are not all sent by freight. To repeat, our theory calls for *all* shipments by *all* means; hence we may expect a certain amount of variation in the data for one particular means of shipment. Information on the intercity shipment of freight is lacking. So too is lacking information on the intercity movement of money, such as by checks. Theoretically the amount in dollars interchanged by checks of all kinds between given cities—i.e. drawn in one city and cashed in another and the reverse—will follow our " $P_1 \cdot P_2 / D$  hypothesis." Although there may be tendencies for surpluses to build up in favored cities, and for capital to move as such at times in some specific directions with only a slow return flow, these variant amounts need not be necessarily large in comparison with the large amounts of the "normal flow." Data are lacking.

On the other hand, we have observed that the circulation of newspapers follows this hypothesis as well as the amount of news about a city  $P_2$  at a distance,  $D$ , as reported in a paper in city  $P_1$ ; the same applies also to the amount of intercity telephone calls, although in this latter instance a modifying constant is present.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Reported *ibid.* and presented with supporting empiric data and fitted curves in Zipf, G. K., "Some

We mention these further considerations only to suggest the extent of the " $P_1 \cdot P_2 / D$  hypothesis" which refers to all movement, including persons.

## 2. THE MOVEMENT OF PERSONS

In turning to the question of the intercity movement of persons we have data on passenger traffic by highways, railways and airways for intervals of measurement in 1933 and 1934. For highways (i.e. busses), the data refer to December, 1933, and July, 1944. For railways they refer to one month in each quarter in 1933 (or 4 months in all). For airways they refer to all of 1933.<sup>8</sup>

The data are based on the number of tickets sold during the periods in question (and not the number of tickets collected by the conductors, as we should prefer). They include single-trip and round-trip tickets without information as to when the return-trip took place.

The cities arbitrarily selected for the present study were: 1. Akron, 2. Baltimore, 3. Boston (and suburbs), 4. Buffalo (and Niagara Falls), 5. Charlotte, N.C., 6. Chicago (and suburbs), 7. Cleveland (and suburbs), 8. Denver, 9. Detroit (and suburbs), 10. Flint, 11. Grand Rapids, 12. Houston, 13. Jacksonville, Fla., 14. Los Angeles (and suburbs), 15. Memphis, 16. Miami, 17. Milwaukee (and West Allis), 18. Minneapolis (and St. Paul), 19. Newark (and suburbs), 20. New Orleans, 21. New York (and suburbs), 22. Norfolk (and Newport News and Portsmouth), 23. Philadelphia (and suburbs), 24. Pittsburgh (and McKeesport),

Determinants of the Circulation of Information," *American Journal of Psychology*, LIX (1946), 401-421. The present  $P_1 \cdot P_2 / D$  relationship (a two dimensional "gravitation") like the three dimensional gravitation of physics, though theoretically rectilinear, doubly logarithmically, can be modified in respect of slope and rectilinearity by other factors.

<sup>8</sup> These data are contained in *Appendix I* of the *Passenger Traffic Report* prepared by the Section of Transportation Service under the office of the Federal Coordinator of Transportation. I am grateful to the American Association of Railroads for calling my attention to this valuable report, and to Mr. John R. Turney for giving me one of the copies.

25. St. Louis (and East St. Louis), 26. San Diego, 27. San Francisco (and suburbs), 28. South Bend, 29. Washington, D.C.

These 29 arbitrarily selected cities (or about 400 pairs of cities) are widely scattered over the United States and vary sufficiently in size—roughly from 100,000 to 7,500,000—so that our sample is fair. Cities much smaller than the above would not have shown any passengers in some cases during so short a period of measurement. When no passengers travelled between a given pair of cities—notably often in the case of airways for which, incidentally, Newark and New York are combined—then, obviously the pair of cities is not represented on the graph.

On the other hand the above entities include in some cases suburban populations whose sizes are impossible to disclose. Hence it was decided to use as values of  $P$  the populations of the cities *exclusive* of those mentioned in the parentheses above. This will introduce a certain amount of variation in our data which we mention here at the very start; the variation will be neither favorable nor unfavorable to our hypothesis. Yet because of the ambiguity of our  $P$ -values, no lines were calculated.

While we are still on the subject of our data let us remember that they refer to a very depressed period in our history when the national economy was giving way, in part, to a sectionalism (i.e. the Force of Diversification) that might well influence long  $D$ -travel adversely. Let us also remember that the then differences in fares between bus and railway will affect the resulting passenger and rate distributions, particularly since the difference in fares becomes ever more pronounced with long distances. Let us also remember the possible influence of the preferential fares of round-trip tickets. Let us remember that with railways there are different rates for different classes of travel (e.g. Pullman, coach, etc.) which are lumped together in the data. Let us remember that private automobile traffic (and commutation traffic) is not included, and so too the movement of persons by foot with an occasional "thumbed" ride.

Yet with all these factors in mind which, if excessive, can modify both the slope and even the rectilinearity of the distributions, let us note from our below data how basic the " $P_1 \cdot P_2 / D$  hypothesis" is.

#### A. The Case of Highway Traffic

In Figure 3 are presented logarithmically on the ordinate the number of passengers moving by bus between the above-mentioned

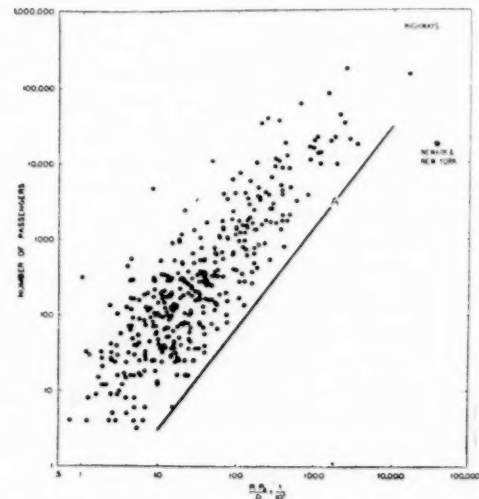


FIGURE 3. The number of passengers travelling by highway carriers between 29 arbitrary cities during December, 1933, and July, 1934 (the ideal line,  $A$ , has a slope of 1.25).

pairs of cities whose respective values of  $P_1 \cdot P_2 / D$  are plotted logarithmically on the abscissa. The line,  $A$ , with an arbitrary slope of 1.25, which has been added to aid the reader's eye, represents about the upper limit of slope of the distribution which, in view of the amount of variation, is not inconsistent with a slope of 1 (may the reader cover up  $A$  and draw a line of his own). In any event the rectilinearity of the data—*extending over 5 logarithm cycles*—is unmistakable. The position of the point for Newark-New York is understandable when we remember the excellent competitive rail service between these two cities.

At this point it should be borne in mind that if fares are in proportion to distance,

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then the aggregate fares for travel between cities will also be proportionate to  $P_1 \cdot P_2 / D$ , since the fewer persons who travel longer distances will pay proportionately larger fares for their tickets and the reverse.

In Figure 4 are presented the aggregate fares paid by the above bus-passengers. The line through the points was drawn by eye with a positive slope of 1, so that the reader may decide for himself whether this theoreti-

above two figures—even in spite of the presence of other factors—it is not rash to suggest that our theoretical hypothesis has been confirmed.

#### B. The Case of Railway Traffic

In Figure 5 are presented the data for railway passengers of all classes between the above cities plotted as indicated, with the line, *A*, added with a positive slope of

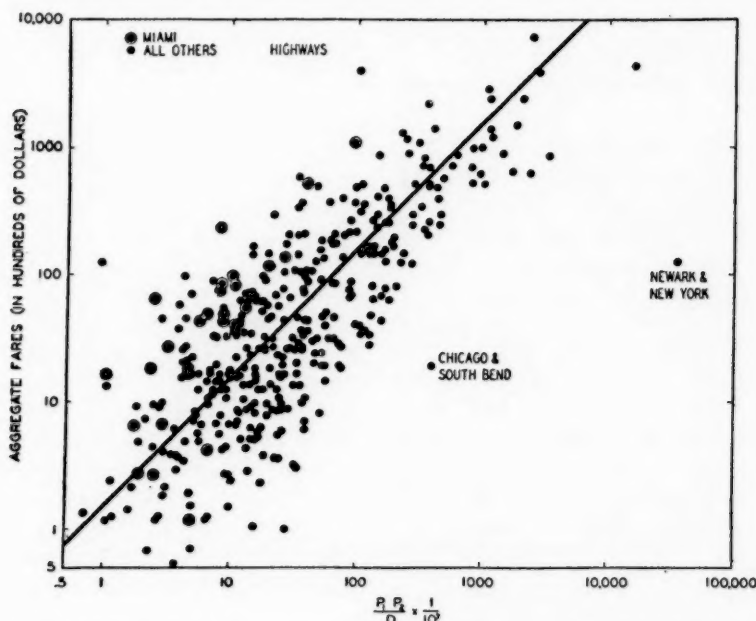


FIGURE 4. The aggregate fares (in hundreds of dollars) paid by the highway passengers reported in Figure 3. The ideal line has a slope of 1.

cal value is a fair value for the data. The points for Miami, Florida, are encircled to show the effect of seasonal variation (the measurement included December, 1933); the points for San Diego, Los Angeles and Jacksonville which are likewise winter resorts diverge similarly but are not indicated. The points for Chicago-South Bend and Newark-New York are indicated to suggest the presence not only of serious competition for short hauls but also, in comparison with Figure 3, the presence of cut-rates for those short hauls.

In view of the nature of the data of the

1.00 to indicate the theoretically expected slope.

The existence of a correlation between our factors is unmistakable. Equally unmistakable is its divergence from the expected slope (the slope of the data being much nearer 1.50). This divergence is significant for us (as well as for the Federal Coordinator of Transportation who apparently undertook this study in order to find out what was wrong with the railroads in the 1930's). After all, there was no such marked divergence from the slope of 1.00 with the highway data of Figures 3 and 4.



This divergence of Figure 5 means that as  $P_1 \cdot P_2 / D$  increases, the number of passengers increases by approximately the 1.5 power thereof. In short there is a systematic premium upon small  $D$  distances, since the same 29 cities are used throughout, with  $D$ 's of varying sizes.

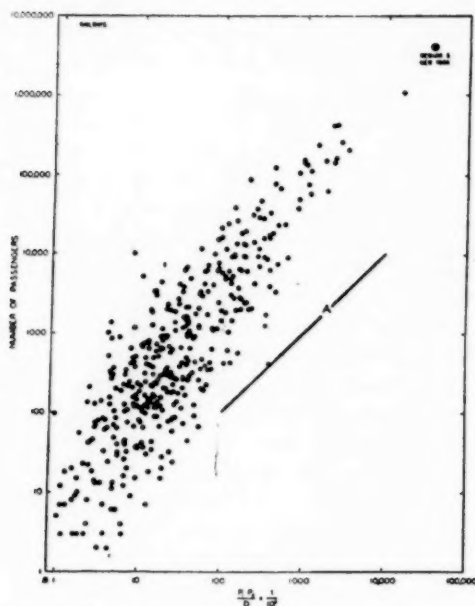


FIGURE 5. The number of passengers travelling by railways between 29 arbitrary cities during one month in each quarter of 1933 (the ideal line,  $A$ , has a slope of 1.00).

This systematic premium upon small  $D$ -distances may mean several things. In the first place it may mean, in view of the Pareto curve which presumably applies to the distribution of incomes within cities, that railway fares, in comparison with bus fares, were so high that a logarithmically decreasing number of persons out of those that travelled *could* afford to take trips of increasing  $D$ -distance.<sup>9</sup> In other words, as  $D$

<sup>9</sup> The slope of the Pareto income curve is sufficient to account for the divergence of slope of Figure 5. The same considerations should also apply to bus travel, although the lower income brackets are much, much more populous (at least two-thirds of the consumer units getting less than \$2,000 during the years in question—and this sum is at the

increased, the resulting absolute increase in cost prohibited an ever increasing percentage of persons from travelling by rail. Perhaps that is the reason why the bus-travel approximated our theoretical value more closely than did the rail-travel.

A second possible explanation is that of preferential fares for shorter (strip) tickets and for round-trip tickets—a consideration which in turn brings up the whole question of railway fares.

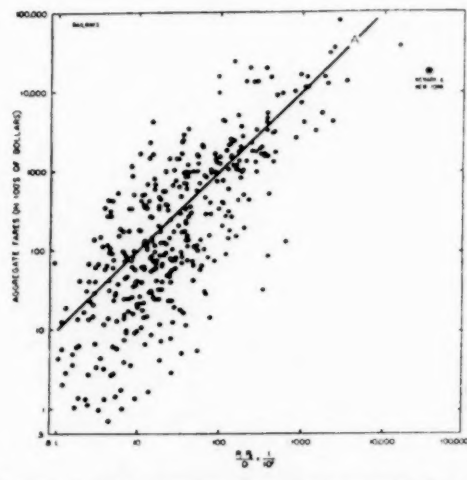


FIGURE 6. The aggregate fares (in hundreds of dollars) paid by the railway passengers reported in Figure 5. The ideal line has a slope of 1.

In Figure 6 are presented the aggregate fares for the passengers of Figure 5. The arbitrary line drawn with a positive slope of 1.00 is added to aid the reader's eye. If the reader covers the points from .5 through 10 on the ordinate, the line is not a bad fit. It certainly fits these points more closely than a line of slope 1.00 would fit the passenger data of Figure 5. Therefore we may suspect (along with everybody else) that in some way or other the railway fares of 1933 were out of line with bus fares, particularly in reference to the longer hauls. In this connection we point out that the passenger

lower limit of the Pareto curve, cf. Zipf, G. K., *National Unity*, *op. cit.* p. 303f. for data and references).

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traffic between Newark and New York as indicated in Figure 5 is quite in line, whereas the fares paid in Figure 6 between the same cities are well below the line; hence in this case, at least, there was a preferential fare, if we may assume the validity of our data.

This question of the general validity of our data for the specific question we are asking is serious. For example, as above mentioned, the various classes of railway passenger travel are combined so that we have no way of knowing which are Pullman passengers and which are coach passengers; which are extra fare passengers and which are taking advantage of excursion rates. Not only can these differences in rate-class result in an increased variability in the rate-distribution, as seems to be the case when we compare the rate-distribution of Figure 6 with the passenger-distribution of Figure 5. It can also induce a curvature in the line of a general downward concavity of a type which the reader may even choose to see already present in Figure 5; for if long distance through-travel carries with it extra fares, then, as  $D$  increases on the whole from right to left, the values on the ordinate will fall ever more below the expected line, since the gross cost of distant travel will make an ever larger share of persons consider the economy of some alternate form of transportation.

The pooling of single-trip and round-trip fares in the aggregate revenues reported makes the underlying data difficult to manipulate. Some of the fares reported were doubtless for return-trips that had not yet occurred; as long as the data refer to tickets sold (and not to tickets collected by the conductor) an interpolation is risky. Although studies now in process show that the percentage of round-trip tickets tends to increase with  $P_1 \cdot P_2 / D$ , nevertheless the increase will scarcely be sufficient to explain the marked deviation of the slope of Figure 5 from the theoretically expected slope.

And so, as we look at the distributions of Figures 5 and 6 in comparison with those of Figures 3 and 4 (and even with Figure 1 and 2), and as we reflect upon the implications

of our theoretical " $P_1 \cdot P_2 / D$  hypothesis," we can only conclude that in 1933 it was not as economical to travel per mile by rail over variable  $D$ -lengths as it was by bus. Hence as the railroads today strive ever more to give a better comparative service at a lower comparative cost for long and short hauls, their passenger-distributions as well as their rate-distributions should ever more approximate our theoretical expectations. And by the terms, *comparative* service and *comparative* cost, we mean not only in comparison with bus travel, but also in comparison with private automobile travel and with airway travel.

Of course our interests in the passenger data and their corollary rate data are purely theoretical, as we attempt to demonstrate the presence of a basic principle. It may well be that we shall never have completely satisfactory data for all person-movement by all means; indeed with governmental fiat in the setting of the rates of public carriers we may never have the prerequisite condition of "free" rates, even for the several classes of public carrier traffic. The data of other countries may be more instructive.

It may be that information on actual traffic is not essential. After all, the information about the places of origin of hotel guests as reported by hotel registers will also tell a lot, should the hotels care to make the information available.

### C. Airway Traffic

Rather for completeness than for decisive information do we present in Figure 7 the information for airway passengers during 1933 when air-travel was scarcely even in its infancy.

Yet in spite of the marked variation in the distribution of points in Figure 7, there is an unmistakable positive correlation between the number of passengers carried, and their corresponding values of  $P_1 \cdot P_2 / D$ .

What the distribution will look like a few years hence after air-travel has taken its place as a customary means of travel is an interesting question to ponder. Much will

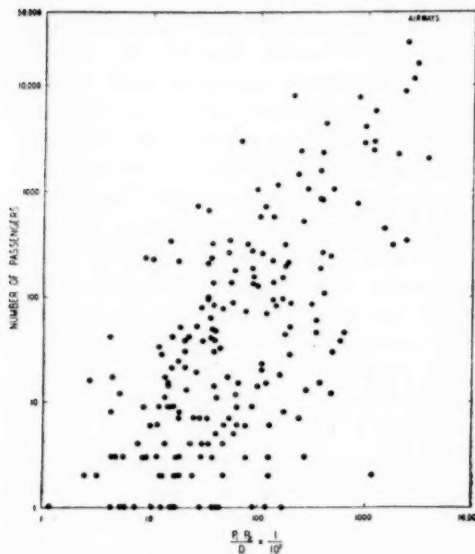


FIGURE 7. The number of passengers travelling by airway between arbitrary cities in 1933.

depend upon its rates and services in competition with those of other public carriers.

### 3. SUMMARY

In the present paper we have briefly set forth (1) the theoretical reasons for expecting that the inter-community movement of goods (by value) and of persons between any two communities,  $P_1$  and  $P_2$ , that are separated by an easiest transportation-distance,  $D$ , will be directly proportionate to

the product,  $P_1 \times P_2$ , and inversely proportionate to the distance,  $D$ .<sup>10</sup>

And we have also (2) presented data for the number of passengers and also for the amount of their aggregate fares (except for airways) for, *A*, Highway (public bus) travel, *B*, Railway-travel, and *C*, Airway-travel. The Highway data approximated our expected curve with considerable closeness. Though the Railway data revealed an unmistakable rectilinear correlation between our factors, the slope was greater than that anticipated theoretically; reasons were presented for the deviation of the slope for railway passengers during the depressed year, 1933. The Airway data also revealed a correlation even for the early year of its development, 1933, though the variation was considerable.

These data will be treated further and in greater detail in connection with other sets of data in the writer's forthcoming book, *The Principle of Least Effort*.

<sup>10</sup> In the light of our findings, we cannot agree as a general principle with our distinguished colleague, Dr. Samuel A. Stouffer who stated ["Intervening opportunities: a theory relating mobility to distance," *American Sociological Review*, 5 (1940), 846]: "the number of persons going a given distance is directly proportional to the number of opportunities at that distance and inversely proportional to the number of intervening opportunities." On the other hand we yield to no one in our admiration of Dr. Stouffer's observations and of their applicability to intracity movement (to be discussed in a future publication).

## THE VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS OF URBAN DWELLERS\*

MIRRA KOMAROVSKY

Barnard College

THIS is a study of organized group affiliations of 2,223 adult residents of New York City. The study is focused on *class* differences but it also contains some data on sex, religious, and other factors in

extent and pattern of participation.

Studies of social participation published during the past decade or two dealt largely with rural areas and smaller communities.<sup>1</sup>

\* This study was done under a grant from the Columbia University Council for Research in the Social Sciences. The author wishes to express her gratitude to Professor Robert M. MacIver for his encouragement and guidance.

<sup>1</sup> *Social Participation Differences Among Tenure Classes* by C. Arnold Anderson, Bryce Ryan. *Rural Soc.*, Vol. 8, No. 3, September, 1943; *Social Organizations in a Small City* by F. A. Bushee. *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 51, November, 1945; *Socio-Economic Circumstances about Adult Participation* by A. A. Kaplan (Ph.D.). Teachers

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The organized life of *urban* residents is a relatively unexplored area of research despite the frequent allusions in sociological literature to the importance of voluntary associations as the distinctive feature of contemporary social structure.

We are all familiar with the stereotype of the urban dweller. He is a man who no longer identifies himself with the primary groups such as the neighborhood or the large kinship unit. Instead he plays with one group, prays with another, joins the third one for economic reasons and still a fourth one for civic ends, and so on.

If the results of this study are representative of the City as a whole, this stereotype has to be revised. It describes, statistically speaking, the deviant rather than the mode. The old neighborhood, the larger kin group might have broken down but they have not been replaced by the specialized voluntary groups to nearly the extent usually assumed.

Sixty per cent of working class and 53% of white collar men in this study did not have a single organized group affiliation with the exception, perhaps, of a Church. Throughout this study general Church membership was not counted as an organized group affiliation, while membership in any Church society or club was included. The figures for the women are even more striking: 88% of labor and 63% of white collar women were without any affiliations.

Indeed, in all occupational classes, male or female, earning under \$3,000 and other than professional, that is in the bulk of the City's population, the unaffiliated persons constituted a majority. Conversely, it is only when we reach the business classes earning \$3,000 and the professional classes

that the majority is found to be organized. It is thus a relatively small section of our population which the noted historians, Charles and Mary Beard, described when they said of the 20th century: "The tendency of Americans to unite with their fellows for varied purposes—a tendency noted a hundred years earlier by de Tocqueville—now became a general mania. . . . It was a rare American who was not a member of four or five societies."<sup>2</sup> This present study confirms a hypothesis which the writer suggested in an earlier paper to the effect that social participation in urban communities follows a *G*-curve.<sup>3</sup> The mode is at "no affiliations" with a sharp drop to membership in one and a steady decline as the number of affiliations increases.

The fact is that in the study of associations, as in some other areas (that of the family, for example), we have tended to derive our generalizations from studies of the middle and upper classes. Important as these are in setting the tone of our culture the portrayal of our society has thereby been distorted. We need to recognize differences in participation in our institutions on the part of various classes and we need to study the subcultures of the lower socio economic classes.

#### *The Method.*

The questionnaire which supplied the data for this study consisted of one long sheet calling for a list of all organizations, clubs, unions, churches, and other societies to which the respondent belonged. It provided space for describing the character of the organization and the place of meetings. The respondent was also asked to indicate at the bottom of the page his occupation, income, religion, education, nativity, sex, and age. No signature was required.

These questionnaires were distributed to employed persons at their place of work in 1934-1935. Among those co-operating were the office workers of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., the sales staff of R. H. Macy's Department

College, Columbia Univ., Contributions to Education, No. 889; *Social Life of a Modern Community* by W. L. Warner. Yale University Press, 1941; See also series of the *Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community*. *Rural Life Studies*, U. S. Dept. of Agriculture; *Social Participation of Rural Young Married Couples* by W. W. Smith, Jr. Cornell University Agri. Exp. Stat. Bul. 812; *Income and Social Participation* by William G. Mather, *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 6, No. 3; *The Family and Individual Social Participation* by W. A. Anderson, *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 8, No. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *The Rise of American Civilization*, N.Y., Macmillan, 1927, Vol. 2, p. 730-1.

<sup>3</sup> *A Comparative Study of Voluntary Organizations of Two Suburban Communities*. Public. of the Soc. Soc. of America, Vol. XXVII, No. 2, May, 1933.

store, nurses and physicians of two hospitals, employees of several factories and others. In smaller concerns the employees were approached individually. Sometimes, the project director was allowed to explain the study at a meeting of the employees. In other concerns the management distributed the questionnaires, each of which had an explanatory note and a stamped

#### *The Sample.*

A composite picture of each of the major economic classes in our sample would yield the following types:

*The Unskilled* (347 cases, 146 men and 201 women). The unskilled worker is a dishwasher, laundry worker, or a packer earning about \$1,000 a year. He has at best only an elementary

### PERCENTAGE BELONGING TO ONE OR MORE ASSOCIATIONS BY CLASS AND SEX

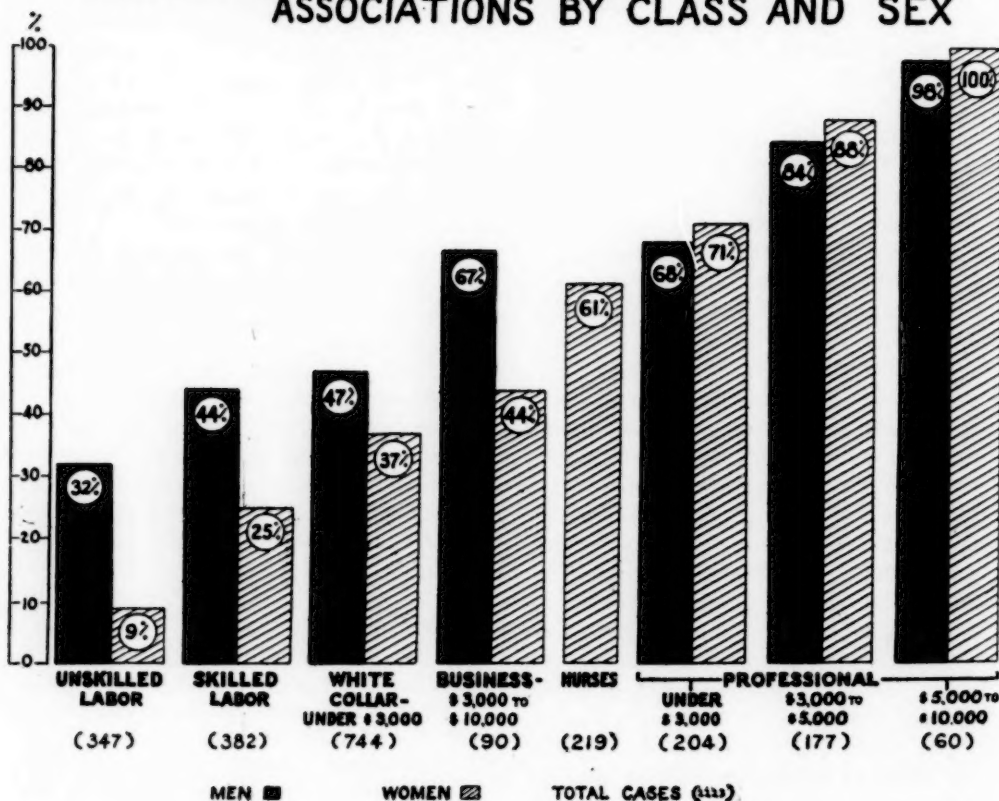


CHART I

envelope addressed to Columbia University. The employees could either mail the unsigned questionnaires directly or place the sealed envelope into a box provided by us. All questionnaires distributed in a given concern had the same code number. Some concerns refused to co-operate. Including only those who agreed to accept the blanks the proportion of returns varied from 17% to 78%. Of the total number of distributed questionnaires 29% were returned. A dozen or so were filled out flippantly or abusively.

school education. The woman worker is likely to be single and under 30 years, the man may be older and married. Both are most likely to be Catholic.

*The Skilled and Semi-skilled* (382 cases, 314 men and 68 women). The skilled worker is a printer, a clothing worker, a driver of a milk distributing company. He earns more and is better educated than the unskilled worker. The man is more likely than not to be over 30, married, and is either Catholic or Jewish.

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occupational groups in our sample because some 120 returns came from one unionized clothing concern. The employers were foreign born who frequently belonged to a Landsmanshaften in addition to the union. By virtue of this selection the skilled group shows a high rate of participation.

*The White Collar* (744 cases, 304 men and 440 women). The woman is a stenographer or a salesgirl earning under \$3,000 a year. She has

women). This small group consists of salesmen and business executives who earn \$3,000 or over.

#### ECONOMIC CLASSES AND THE EXTENT OF PARTICIPATION

Economic classes defined in terms of occupation and income differ greatly in extent of participation. The contrasts are striking.

Chart I presents the proportion of men

TABLE 1. PERCENTAGE OF MEN IN VARIOUS ECONOMIC CLASSES BELONGING TO SPECIFIED NUMBER OF ASSOCIATIONS

Class	No. of Cases	Number of Associations								Total
		None	One Group	Two Groups	Three Groups	Four Groups	Five Groups	Six Groups	Seven and Over	
<i>Unskilled</i>	146	68*	25	6	.5	.5	—	—	—	100
<i>Skilled</i>	314	56	33.4	8.4	1.6	.6	—	—	—	100
<i>All Labor</i>	460	60	30.6	7.6	1.3	.5	—	—	—	100
<i>White Collar</i>										
Under \$3000	304	53	30.2	10.5	4	1.3	.7	—	.3	100
<i>Business</i>										
\$3000 to \$10,000	67	33	30	19	7.5	6	1.5	—	3.	100
<i>Professional</i>										
Under \$3000	149	31.5	23	15	16	9.4	1.3	2.7	1.3	100.2
\$3000 to \$5000	96	15.6	13.5	23	13.5	14.6	5.2	5.2	9.4	100
\$5000 and Over	50	2	6	8	18	10	12	4	40	100
<i>All Professional</i>	295	21.4	17	16	16	11	4.4	3.7	10.5	100

\* Percentage of unskilled men without any affiliations.

attended high school, is under 30 and single. The man is a bookkeeper, filing clerk, or a salesman usually with a high school education and also earning under \$3,000. He is as likely as not to be married and is under 30 years as frequently as 30 and over. The three religious faiths were about equally represented in this group.

*Nurses* (219 women nurses). The nurse in our sample was predominantly single, Protestant and in her late 20's or early 30's.

*The Professional* (441 cases, 295 men and 146 women). The professional man is a teacher, doctor or engineer with incomes varying from \$2,000 to over \$15,000 a year. The professional woman is usually a teacher, single and earning under \$3,000.

The professional persons in our sample were equally divided as between Protestants and Jews with only a few Catholics.

*The Business Class* (90 cases, 67 men and 23

and women in various classes belonging to one or more associations. Let us look at the men first. At the one extreme is the unskilled worker: *only 32 out of 100 belong to any organizations* and, conversely 68% are without any affiliations with the possible exception of a Church congregation (see p. 688). The Professional man earning \$5,000 and over is at the other end, 98% of these professional men list one or more affiliations and only 2% fail to list any.

The classes in between show a consistently increasing rate as we go up the economic scale. 44% of the skilled, 47% of the white collar, 67% of the business men and 68% of the professional earning under \$3,000 have one or more affiliations. The professional earning \$3,000 to \$5,000 is highly



organized: 84% belong; and finally, as was already stated, practically all the most highly paid professionals are organized.

Class differences in the participation rates of women are even greater. As seen in Chart 1, the rates are 9% for the unskilled women, 25% for the skilled, 37% for the white collar, 44% for the business women, 61% for the nurses, 71% for the professionals earning under \$3,000, 88% for professionals earning \$3,000 to \$5,000 and

this contrast.

The same story of class differences in participation is told by more detailed participation statistics (in Tables 1 and 2). These tables give the proportion of men and women, respectively, belonging to specified numbers of associations by economic classes. The three indexes of the extent of participation: a) percentage belonging to at least one organization, b) the average, and c) the maximum number of groups per person

TABLE 2. PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN IN VARIOUS ECONOMIC CLASSES BELONGING TO SPECIFIED NUMBER OF ASSOCIATIONS

Class	No. of Cases	Number of Associations								Total
		None	One Group	Two Groups	Three Groups	Four Groups	Five Groups	Six Groups	Seven and Over	
Unskilled	201	91	8	1	—	—	—	—	—	100
Skilled	68	75	21	4	—	—	—	—	—	100
All Labor	269	88	11	1	—	—	—	—	—	100
White Collar										
Under \$3000	440	63.5	17	10.9	5	1.4	.9	1.4	—	100.1
Business										
\$3000 and Over	23	56.5	13	17.4	4.4	4.4	4.4	—	—	100.1
Nurses	219	39	14	17	8.7	11.5	6.4	3.2	—	99.8
Professional										
Under \$3000	55	29	18.2	21.8	14.6	5.5	3.6	3.6	3.8	99.9
\$3000 to \$5000	81	12.4	13.5	22	20	3.7	6.2	3.7	18.5	100
\$5000 and Over	10	—	10	30	10	10	—	—	40	100
All Professional	146	17.8	15	22.6	17.1	4.8	4.8	3.4	14.4	99.9

100% for the small group of professional women with an income of \$5,000 and over. It is, incidentally, just this sharper class differential in the participation of women which may account for some puzzling contradictions in various studies concerning the relative organization of men and women. Thus, for example, Bushee<sup>4</sup> found women to be predominant in Boulder organizations while in Middletown men exceeded women in the ratio of 2 to 1. A different class composition of the two communities as indicated in the 1940 Census may explain

were consistently correlated in the comparison of some 15 economic subgroups of men and women. Note that only 1% of the unskilled, but 85% of the highest paid professional men belong to 3 or more groups.

#### THE RELIABILITY OF CLASS DIFFERENCES IN PARTICIPATION

Class differences in participation are generally found to persist even when certain other factors are held constant in so far as the number of cases permits such breakdowns.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Frederick A. Bushee "Social Organization in a Small Town." *American Journal of Sociology*, November, 1945.

<sup>5</sup> Limitation of space made it impossible to include tables giving participation figures by sex, economic class, and religion.

In the case of the women every religious group shows without exception the correlation between class and participation noted for the group as a whole. The participation rates of the men present the same general picture. By and large, within each religious group the higher the economic class the greater the participation.

The most outstanding exception is the fact that among the Jews, the skilled worker is more highly organized than the white collar man. Even the skilled workers from other than the unionized clothing shop had a somewhat higher participation rate than the clerks, the rates being 47% and 43%, respectively. It is, however, only the young Jewish white collar men who are "under-organized," those over 30 are similar to the non Jews of the same age group.

This departure from the positive correlation between occupational status and participation was also found by Goldhamer in Chicago. He says: "Whereas among Protestants and Catholics working persons belong to fewer associations than white collar—among the Jews the relationship is reversed."<sup>6</sup>

As Goldhamer suggests many of the Jewish workers are foreign born and join Landsmanschaften and other fraternal organizations. But these associations no longer attract their children who, furthermore, are perhaps less inclined to join the typical "Social and Athletic" clubs of the native youth.<sup>7</sup>

The pattern of class differences is on the whole not changed by taking the age factor into account. The Jewish labor—white collar differential appears again as the exception. The identical organization rate of the Protestant white collar and professional under 30 is another exception. Included among the Protestant professionals was a group of young draftsmen who appear to be less highly organized than other professionals.

<sup>6</sup> Goldhamer, Herbert "Some Factors Affecting Participation in Voluntary Associations," Ph.D. thesis University of Chicago, 1943, p. 54.

<sup>7</sup> Another exception to the positive correlation of class and participation lies in the slightly higher participation of the lower paid Catholic professional in comparison with those earning \$3,000 and over. The number of cases is too small to make the difference significant.

To establish class differences in participation is not in itself to explain them. Groups defined in terms of occupation and income differ also in other respects which may, perhaps, be the decisive ones in this connection.

Income, important as it obviously is, does not tell the whole story. We have seen that the professional man earning between \$2,000 and \$3,000 participates more than the business man with a *higher* income. Here the immediate occupational demands of a profession furnish the answer, if we are to judge by the kinds of groups the two classes belong to. The excess of the professional's participation is found to be due to the strictly occupational societies. As for the other groups, the business man holds his own; in fact, he has many more masonic and fraternal affiliations.

But the need to join an occupational association fails to explain the superiority of the white collar employee over the skilled worker. It is, of course, the latter who has more occupational, *i.e.* union affiliations. The deficit in union affiliations of the white collar person is more than made up by his excess in others, notably religious, military-patriotic, and Greek letter (non college) fraternities.

Is it in the superior education of the white collar employees that the explanation lies? The majority of them have gone to high school. Participation is positively correlated with education in all but the Jewish group because the highly organized immigrants often lack high school education. It is interesting that the superior participation of the white collar man appears only among the high school graduates. Our filing or shipping clerk with only an elementary school background does not differ much from the working man.

Superior education of the white collar man is one of the factors but again, it doesn't explain why he has more affiliations than even those skilled workers who have also gone to high school.

The answer must, no doubt, be sought in the whole complex we call "higher social class". Superior education and home back-

ground create interests which find outlets in cultural and hobby clubs. Social proximity to upper classes engenders imitation of them as in the Greek letter fraternities and sororities. Furthermore, the pattern of joining, having become established in the middle classes, tends to perpetuate itself. Many associations have a middle class membership. This discourages the lower classes just as it attracts the middle class persons to whom membership in, say, a Masonic or a Civic association becomes a symbol of status.<sup>8</sup> It is possible, incidentally, that the working class associations, the union and the fraternal club, are less specialized and perform a number of functions for which the white collar persons join several organizations.

A fuller understanding of participation will be gained by considering, also, the kinds of associations found in these various classes.

#### THE ASSOCIATION PATTERN OF ECONOMIC CLASSES

Each class has its peculiar pattern of associations.<sup>9</sup> A resume of "class profiles" will precede a more detailed statement of our results.

*Class Profiles.* Our male unskilled worker (the elevator operator or the dish washer) if he belongs to associations at all (and only 32% do), joins a "Social and Athletic Club" and, later in life a fraternal lodge. Over 60% of all affiliations of unskilled workers were in these two groups. Much less frequently appears a trade union, a neighborhood political club, or a religious society.

The skilled workers (a clothing operator or a printer) divides his participation between two groups. 76% of his memberships are in a union and a fraternal lodge. Now and then a Masonic order and a political

club appear in the picture but all other groups are rare.

The salesmen and the office clerks with a high school education differ from all the rest in one respect. Their participation is spread over a wider range of associations. The absence of occupational groups in the white collar class means that it is the more variable leisure time interests which create its organized life. Nevertheless, some associations are favored. Fraternal lodges, social clubs, and religious societies comprise 49% of the total affiliations. Next, in the order of frequency, come masonic, political, fraternities, the Y's military-patrotic, and economic groups. The few "cultural" memberships are usually in some artistic hobby clubs such as a choral or a dramatic society. This list describes the activities of about one half of the white collar men—the other half has no affiliations whatsoever.

Our business man who earns from \$3,000 to \$5,000 belongs to a fraternal and a masonic organization—43% of his total affiliations were with these two. An occasional economic, social, and a cultural group completes the picture.

The organized life of the professional man is dominated by his profession. The strictly professional societies comprise 50% of his total affiliations. Cultural and "occupational clubs" come next but they, too, often reflect professional interests.

Over one third of the cultural affiliations are, obviously adjuncts to the profession of the respondent. Thus, a teacher may join the American Association for the Advancement of Science or the Child Study Association to support these organizations and receive their publications.

Other cultural affiliations are of a more general nature. Some are face-to-face memberships in a current events club or a "little theatre" group. Others are impersonal affiliations with a cultural agency (say, the Museum of Modern Art) which give the members a preferential access to its resources often without any contact with other members.

The "occupational clubs" ("Men's Fac-

<sup>8</sup> See "Family Social Participation and Social Status Self-Rating," W. A. Anderson, *American Sociological Review*, June, 1946, p. 253ff.

<sup>9</sup> Associations were classified on the basis of their explicitly stated objectives, as inferred from their names or remarks of the respondents. There were no major difficulties in grouping associations into the few broad categories used in the study. The deciding criterion in the classifications was always the dominant explicitly stated objective.

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ulty Club," "The Lawyers' Club," "Chemistry Teachers Club") provide for sociability and recreation but they, too, are joined in the interests of one's profession and career.

Add to the professional, cultural, and occupational clubs—the alumni and Greek letter fraternities and you have about 75% of the total affiliations of the professional men.

The remaining 25% of his memberships

dominant mode of participation for the white collar woman. This, a social club, and a cultural club constitute 44% of the total affiliations. Political clubs come next, then Sororities and civic groups. The rest of affiliations are distributed fairly evenly among the other groups.

Just as with the professional men some 50% of all the affiliations of professional women are in occupational groups. Cultural

TABLE 3. AFFILIATIONS IN SPECIFIED KINDS OF ASSOCIATIONS AS PERCENTAGE OF THE NUMBER OF MEN IN EACH ECONOMIC CLASS

No. of Cases	Labor		All Labor	White Collar	Business	All Professional	Professional		
	Unskilled	Skilled					Under \$3000	\$3000-\$5000	\$5000 & Over
	145	314	460	305	67	296	149	97	50
Economic	3	32	23	3.9	13	127	69	156	246
Political	4	4.5	4	4.9	4.5	8.5	7.4	10	8
Civic	—	1	.7	1.3	3	10	6	11	18
Minority Protection	—	—	—	—	3	1.4	1.3	—	4
Masonic	—	5	3.5	5.3	16.5	7.8	4	8	18
Fraternal	10	31	24	15	43	9.5	8.8	8	14
Cultural	—	.6	.4	2.2	13	20	12	32	18
Religious	3	1.9	2.2	8.9	4.5	4.4	4.7	2	8
Military-Patriotic	.7	1	.9	3.9	3	5.4	3.4	4	14
Social	17	3.5	7.8	13	12	10	5.4	7	30
Sport	1.3	.6	.9	1.9	4.5	3	3.4	3	2
Greek Letter	—	—	—	4.6	1.5	14	17	10	10
Y.M.C.A.—Y.M.H.A.	1.3	1	1	5	3	4	8	—	2
Alumni	—	—	—	.4	4.5	8.5	7.4	12	4
Hobby	—	—	—	.7	—	—	1.3	—	2
Boy Scouts	.7	—	.2	.7	—	.4	.7	—	—
Country Club	—	—	—	—	1.5	1.4	1.3	—	4
Occupational Clubs	—	—	—	—	1.5	17	8.8	23	30
Miscellaneous	2.7	—	1	1.6	7.5	1.7	.7	2	4

are spread over all the other groups. The average membership in these other groups is also higher for the professional than for the other classes, with few exceptions to be noted below.

The unskilled woman worker belongs to very few associations, but just as with the unskilled male worker, a social club and a fraternal lodge come first with religious and Y.W.C.A. affiliations next.

The skilled woman belongs to a trade union and a church society with occasional memberships in a social or political club.

Membership in a church society is the

come next, then civic, then occupational clubs and alumni associations. This leaves about 20% of affiliations among all the other groups.

A detailed comparison of class patterns of participation is presented in Tables 3 and 4. The index used is the total number of memberships in specified associations as a percentage of the number of persons in a given class. If 460 workers listed 112 fraternal memberships the rate would be 24. This does not always mean that 24% of the workers belonged to fraternal orders because some may have had more than one member-

ship. It is for this reason that the rate may exceed 100 in some cases.

Table 3 reveals that the working men have a relatively high rate of participation in occupational and fraternal groups and a low rate in all the rest. White collar exceeds the other classes in religious and social clubs, the "Y's," and Boy Scouts. Its participation in military-patriotic, Masonic

letter societies than was the case with the men. Otherwise the picture is much the same.

#### OTHER FACTORS IN THE EXTENT AND PATTERN OF PARTICIPATION

The data hitherto examined for their bearing upon class differences throws light also on other factors.

TABLE 4. AFFILIATIONS IN SPECIFIED KINDS OF ASSOCIATIONS AS PERCENTAGE OF THE NUMBER OF WOMEN IN EACH ECONOMIC CLASS

	Un-skilled	Skilled	All Labor	White Collar	Nurses	All Professional	Professional	
							Under \$3000	\$3000-\$5000
<i>No. of cases</i>	201	68	269	437	219	126	55	81
Economic	.5	15	4	3	83	125	78	142
Political	.5	3	1	6	2.3	12	12.7	10
Civic	—	—	—	5	1	20	9	25
Minority Protection	.5	—	.1	.5	—	4.7	5	3.7
Masonic	—	—	—	.5	1	1.5	1.8	1.2
Fraternal	2	—	1	2.4	1	1	1.8	—
Cultural	—	—	—	7	2	31	21.8	33
Religious	1	4	2	15	2	9.5	7.2	10
Military Patriotic	—	—	—	.5	3	2.4	1.8	2.5
Social	2	3	2	9	—	7	9	5
Sport	—	—	—	3.4	1	4	3.6	3.7
Greek Letter	—	—	—	5.5	—	6.4	9	3.7
Y.W.C.A.-Y.W.H.A.	1	—	1	3	4	2.4	3.6	1.2
Alumni	—	—	—	3	—	14.3	16.3	11
Hobby	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Girl Scouts	—	—	—	.7	—	—	—	—
Country Club	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Womans Club	—	—	—	1.6	1	8.8	9	7.5
Occupational Clubs	—	—	—	1.6	—	13.5	3.6	18.6
Miscellaneous	1	1	1	1.8	.5	—	—	—

and fraternal groups differs little from that of the professionals.

In all the other groups the professional class has the highest rate of participation.

Class differences in women's organizations are very similar with only a few exceptions. Working women have somewhat fewer "fraternal" affiliations than white collar women. The latter, even as the white collar men, exceed the other classes in religious and social clubs, the Y's, and Girl Scouts. White collar women are closer to the professional women with regard to fraternal and Greek

Sex. Certain generalizations emerge concerning *sex differences in participation*. (It must be born in mind that the women were all gainfully employed.)

1. Sex differences were greatest at the bottom and diminish as we go up the occupational scale (see Chart I).

2. In the lowest economic classes organized group life is apparently carried on largely by men, while in the upper classes it is about equally divided between the sexes. Contrast the following rates: *unskilled labor*, 9% of women and 32% of men have affilia-

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tions; *skilled labor*, 25% of women and 44% of men; *professional*, 82% of women and 79% of men.

3. In the white collar and professional classes marital status and age combine into an intricate pattern of influences giving sometimes to men and, at other times, to women a higher rate of participation.

There is some, though not conclusive, evidence that in the *working classes* women participate less in associations than do men irrespective of age and marital status. A breakdown by marital status was not possible for this group. But, if anyone, it is the older single women who may equal the participation rate of men. We find, however, that the rate for women over 30 (2/3 of whom were single) is only 13% as compared with 51% for the men over 30. It is doubtful that upon marriage an employed working class woman would increase her affiliations. She will not have the leisure for it and such money as is available for memberships is more likely to go to the man.

As to the single woman several facts are reflected in her low rate of participation. She is less likely than the man to belong to a union; she marries young and her late teens and early 20's are occupied with courtship and informal social activities; there doesn't seem to be an equivalent of the typical boys' "Social and Athletic Club" in her life.

The picture changes as we turn to the white collar and professional classes. Here there are various groups of women more active in associations than the corresponding groups of men. Thus, for example, the white collar women 30 and over (and by and large single) are more organized than the men 30 and over, the rates being 52% and 45% respectively. The same is true of the older professional women.

Are these conclusions concerning sex differences supported by existing studies?

The Lynds<sup>10</sup> found that working class

women participated much less than working class men. But, in contrast to our findings, even the Middletown business class women participated less than the men. But that sample was small and the difference may or may not be significant.

Goldhamer's<sup>11</sup> results, on the whole, are in agreement with ours. He too finds that, among the semi skilled and the white collar persons, women at all ages have a lower average membership than the men. Professional women, on the other hand, have a slightly higher membership rate.

Goldhamer also found that married men are more active in associations than single men while among women it is the single who are the "joiners." In an excellent table giving average membership by age, marital status, and sex, Goldhamer refines this generalization in one important respect: It is true largely for the older age groups—those over 30. It is only then that the single become the extremes—the men, very inactive and the women, very active. In the young age group the married of both sexes participate somewhat less than the single. Perhaps this is natural in view of the responsibilities in the early years of marriage. Why the woman who remains single, and not the man, should seek outlets in participation is hard to say. Goldhamer suggests that singleness in men is symptomatic of a more deviant personality.

The participation of housewives, even as of gainfully employed women, goes up with increasing income and, again, the sex differences diminish as we move up the scale. In *Leisure, A Suburban Study*<sup>12</sup> the housewife with the income under \$5000 has only 1.9 memberships per person to 2.7 of her husband. In the \$10,000 and over income class the housewife participates almost as much as her husband; average is 2.9 affiliations and her husband's 3.0.

In the pattern of affiliations, as in the extent, sex differences are again larger for

<sup>10</sup> Lynd, Robert S. and Helen, M. *Middletown, A Study in Contemporary American Culture*; N.Y.: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1929.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> Lundberg, Komarovsky, McInerney, Columbia University Press, 1934, p. 131.



the lower economic classes. (See Tables 3 and 4.) Women workers have generally a lower rate of participation than men workers and that covers every kind of group with the exception of the religious ones.

The white collar men still have the edge over the women in fraternal, Masonic, Military-patriotic societies,<sup>13</sup> but their participation is about equal to that of women in economic, political, sport, Greek Letter societies and social clubs (if the women's affiliations in social groups are added to the affiliations in the Women's club). Women actually exceed the men in religious, cultural, and civic and philanthropic groups.

The professional men earning under \$3000 still exceed the women of the same class in the patronage of fraternal, Masonic, military-patriotic organizations. He also has a higher membership in occupational clubs. As in the preceding comparisons the women exceed the men in religious and cultural affiliations. They have also a somewhat higher membership rate in social, political, civic and alumni groups. Membership in sport and occupational societies is about the same.

The better paid professional men consistently with other classes exceed the women in Masonic and fraternal and Greek letter societies. The women exceed the men in religious and civic affiliations. As for the rest, the men and women in this particular occupational group are very much alike. The Women's club is of course a special case.

Certain sex differences are thus, consistent throughout the whole population. Women have invariably more religious affiliations from the lowest to the highest economic class. Beginning with the white collar class the participation in civic and philanthropic societies is more intensive. The rate for cultural groups is also higher for women with the exception of better paid professional men.

Men on the other hand exceed the women

<sup>13</sup> Most military-patriotic societies are male associations, such as Veterans of the Foreign Wars, or the American Legion but women belong to auxiliaries of these groups. Furthermore, such organizations as the D.A.R. were included under this heading.

consistently in fraternal, Masonic, military-patriotic associations. Men have also more occupational affiliations but only below the professional level. The professional men list more Greek letter societies than the professional women but for the white collar class the men and women rates are very similar.

The higher organization of the nurses is due largely to their participation in occupational and alumni associations. In all the rest they have as a matter of fact very low membership rates. Their rates are lower than those of the white collar women for every kind of group with the exception of social and Y.W. to which they belong as frequently as do the clerks.

The greater participation of women in religious and cultural societies was also reported for two suburban communities by Lundberg.<sup>14</sup>

*Religion.* Religion is less important than economic class as a factor in participation. The similarity in the rates of the three religious groups within each class is quite striking. This is certainly true of the Protestants and the Catholics, both men and women. Jews differ from the others in two respects: the high organization of the skilled and the "under organization" of the young white collar men (see p. 690). Furthermore, the Jewish professional men have the highest rate of the three, perhaps, because there were relatively more teachers and fewer engineers among them.

Our findings are in disagreement with Goldhamer's with regard to the Catholics whom he found less highly organized in every occupational group, male and female. The *kinds* of groups Catholics belong to we, also, found distinctive. No explanation suggests itself for this difference between Chicago and New York studies.

As to the pattern of association some religious differences stand out very clearly.<sup>15</sup> The Catholic men have a greater proportion of political and religious affiliations than any other group and this superiority exists in

<sup>14</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 143.

<sup>15</sup> Limitations of space prevent the inclusion of tables giving affiliations in specified groups by religion, class, and sex.

every economic class. It will be noted that such organizations as Knights of Columbus were classed with fraternal orders and not with religious groups; therefore, their high rate of participation in religious groups is all the more striking. The Catholic group has no participation in the Masonic Orders. It has a consistently lower rate in civic and cultural associations. It is only the Catholic white collar man who compares favorably with the other religions in cultural affiliations.

The Protestant group exceeded the other two in cultural affiliations and to some extent in military and patriotic societies. Protestants of every class have a lower rate of participation in fraternal orders than non Protestants.

The Jewish group is as active as the Protestant in civic groups but is more akin to the Catholics in the frequency of fraternal orders. Every class of Jews is below the other religions in sport and religious affiliations.

The relation of religion to the patterns of affiliations of women was similar to that of men in the following respects: the Protestant women, even as the Protestant men, were superior in cultural, military, sport, occupational clubs, and Greek Letter fraternities. They, too, had a lower membership in fraternal orders. The Catholic women had more numerous religious affiliations and among the professional—fewer civic and occupational memberships. The Jewish women had a high rate in civic associations and a low rate in sport and religious associations.

On the other hand, women did not exhibit the pattern discovered among the men with regard to political affiliations. The superiority found among the Catholic men did not exist among the women. Catholic women have a slightly higher participation in fraternal organizations than the Jewish women.

#### DEPRESSION AND PARTICIPATION

The data for this study were collected in 1934-35. What was the influence of the depression upon participation? To what an extent do our results reflect the economic plight of the middle 30's?

The answer to these questions comes from one section of our original schedule which reads as follows: "If you have resigned from any organizations because of the depression list their names below."

Depression had cut down participation in associations despite the fact that our collaborators were all employed at the time of the study. Total number of resignations constituted 10 per cent of the 2952 memberships held by the group as a whole prior to the depression.

It is interesting to note that the skilled workers and the nurses relinquished fewer memberships than any other classes, 7 per cent and 6 per cent respectively. Both of these groups limit their participation largely to instrumental associations (unions, mutual benefit and professional societies). As long as they can hold on to their jobs they are not likely to drop such memberships. The proportion of resignations was almost identical for the unskilled, the white collar and the professional classes (12 per cent, 12 per cent and 11 per cent) and higher for the businessmen—15 per cent.

How much has our index of participation, i.e. the proportion of persons with one or more memberships, been affected by the depression? Not as much as might be expected from the preceding paragraphs. Apparently persons with numerous memberships were more likely to drop some than those who had only one. While the total per cent of resignations was 10 per cent, the decline in per cent of affiliated persons varied from 2 per cent to, at the most, 4 per cent. The largest change was for white collar men, 51 per cent of whom belonged prior to the depression instead of the 47 per cent at the time of the study.

Let us turn now from the extent to the pattern of retrenchment. Hardest hit were the more expensive associations and other leisure time groups lacking in any sentimental or ideological significance. They were the country clubs, the athletic clubs, the Y's and the Women's clubs. All of those lost 20 per cent or more of their memberships. Next come associations which lost from 10 per cent to 20 per cent of their memberships:

social, civic, political, masonic, cultural. The least vulnerable, as might have been expected were the occupational groups, and for less obvious reasons, religious and Greek letter fraternities and sororities.

#### CONCLUSION

This and other studies of voluntary associations have hitherto been concerned with the establishment of broad differentials in participation in terms of the familiar social categories of class, religion, nativity, sex, age and so forth. The time is ripe for a more refined analysis which would reveal the "why" and the "what of it" of these broad differences. Thus, for example, while we have suggested certain hypotheses to account for class differences, they remain to be tested. Another group of casual factors to be explored is that of personality variables.

That the majority of citizens remain completely outside the stream of organized social life is significant but its implications, also,

require a more refined study. The frequent assumption that the non-participants are necessarily "isolated," "rootless," "barred from complete realization of personality" needs to be examined. Indeed it may be supposed that many social and recreational organizations in the city recruit their membership largely from those who are, in fact, isolated and lonely and who seek satisfactions which other segments of the population find more fully in unorganized social relations of a neighborhood, a gang, or a strong family unit. Similarly, we cannot assume that members of cultural associations are necessarily better informed or more interested in self-cultivation. Some interests may be pursued singly through individual utilization of cultural resources of a community. Non-membership in other associations, however, no doubt implies that sections of our population are cut off from channels of power, information, growth, and a sense of participation in purposive social action.

## SOCIAL CLASS AND COLOR DIFFERENCES IN CHILD-REARING

ALLISON DAVIS AND ROBERT J. HAVIGHURST

*University of Chicago*

**I**N RECENT years, cultural anthropologists and social psychologists have made intensive studies of the relationships between personality and socialization.<sup>1</sup> They have arrived at a methodological distinction which has proved helpful in the analysis of personality. In the light of their comparative data on the socialization of individual chil-

dren in different societies, they have set up the operational principle that personality can best be studied in terms of two basic interacting systems of behavior.

One system of actions, feelings, and thoughts is (1) cultural. It is learned by the individual from his basic social groups: his family, his age-groups, his sex group, his social-class group, and so on. The other system of responses is (2) individual, or "idiosyncratic," or "private." It derives in part from (a) genetic factors and in part from (b) learning. These learned individual traits are responses to (a') organic, (b') affectional and (c') chance factors, and likewise to (d') the particular deviations of a child's training from the standard cultural training for his group.

The use of this hypothesis and its various

<sup>1</sup> See Margaret Mead, *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies*, in *From The South Seas*. New York: William Morrow and Co., 1939. Allison Davis and John Dollard, *Children of Bondage*, Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1940. W. Lloyd Warner, Buford Junker, and Walter A. Adams, *Color and Human Nature*, Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1941. Cora du Bois, *The People of Alor*. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1944. Abram Kardiner, *The Psychological Frontiers of Society*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1945.

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derivative forms seems likely to bring some order into the chaotic field of personality-studies. As a methodological distinction, it is useful both in the exploration of the life-history, and likewise in the cross-sectional study of personality-traits in a population. As a method of securing and organizing data, it has the virtue of directing the researcher's attention to increasingly *smaller systems* of behavior in his search for the formants of personality. As an hypothesis about the dynamics of personality, this distinction between the cultural and the individual "personalities" leads to the useful effort to understand "adjustment" and "maladjustment," or "normal" and "neurotic" behavior, in terms of the degree of "fit" between a person's *individual* motivation, and the *cultural* demands made upon him to adhere to those roles and those traits approved by his particular society.

The research whose findings will be summarized below is concerned primarily with the *cultural aspects* of personality.<sup>2</sup> In a later report on a second part of our research, the development of individuality in children will be approached through intensive studies of the development of siblings. In this report, however, our purpose is to describe differences in the *cultural training* of children whose families are of different social and cultural status.

The nature of social stratification in the United States, and the cultural patterns of American social classes have been defined in extensive studies by Professor W. Lloyd Warner and his colleagues.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, the powerful influence of this social-class system upon the American educational system, and upon what the child learns in

school has been documented in a summary of recent studies.<sup>4</sup>

To students of learning, and especially to those who wish to study the processes of socialization, a detailed understanding of American social-class cultures and motivational patterns is now a *sine qua non* of both research and therapy. For the social class of the child's family determines not only the neighborhood in which he lives and the play-groups he will have, but also the basic cultural acts and goals toward which he will be trained. The social-class system maintains cultural, economic, and social barriers which prevent intimate social intermixture between the slums, the Gold Coast, and the middle-class. We know that human beings can learn their culture only *from other human beings*, who already know and exhibit that culture. Therefore, by setting up barriers to social participation, the American social-class system actually prevents the vast majority of children of the working classes, or the slums, from learning any culture but that of their own groups. *Thus the pivotal meaning of social class* to students of human development is that it defines and systematizes different learning environments for children of different classes.<sup>5</sup>

There are three major types of cultural systems in the United States. The first is (1) *the general American system of cultural behaviors*; these include some form of the American language, certain broad similarities, such as wearing "clothing," living in "houses," using machinery etc.; the monogamous family; the prohibition of incest and murder; and certain democratic "ideals."

The other major cultural systems are (2) *the social-class cultures*, and (3) *the ethnic-group cultures*. So powerful are the social-class cultures that they tend to influence all the *general American cultural behaviors*.

<sup>2</sup> Some of the implications of this research for the understanding of child development will be found in *Father of the Man*, by Allison Davis and Robert J. Havighurst. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Company, 1947.

<sup>3</sup> *The Yankee City Series*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. The first four volumes of this six-volume series have been published. *Deep South*. Allison Davis, Burleigh B. Gardner, and Mary R. Gardner. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1941.

<sup>4</sup> *Who Shall Be Educated?* W. Lloyd Warner, Robert J. Havighurst, and Martin B. Loeb. New York: Harper and Bros., 1944.

<sup>5</sup> Allison Davis, "Socialization and The Adolescent Personality," Chapter XI in the *Forty-Third Yearbook of the National Society For the Study of Education*, Part I, 1944, pp. 198-216.

It is a fact that the specific form of the American language used, or of clothes, or of food, or of house, or even the social definition of a monogamous relationship varies by social class.

It has been assumed generally that the basic *areas* of training young children were very similar in all social strata, including weaning, toilet-training, property-training, etc. This seems to be true. Our purpose, however, was to determine to what extent *the methods, the timing, and the pace* of this early training differed in the various social

in Chicago, and (2) What is the extent of the difference in the time of beginning, the length of, and the other conditions surrounding the training? The part of this study dealing with the differences between middle class and lower class white families in their child-rearing practices has been reported by Ericson.<sup>6</sup>

A forerunner to this study is that made by John Anderson for the White House Conference of 1930.<sup>7</sup> Anderson found that child-rearing practices are related to social status. The present study investigates some

TABLE I. DATA ON FAMILIES IN THE STUDY

	Middle Class		Lower Class	
	White	Negro	White	Negro
Number of mothers	48	50	52	50
Median age of mother at marriage	23	21	20	18
Median age of father at marriage	25	25	25	21
Median age of mother at interview	33	29	29	29
Median age of father at interview	35	33	33	32
No. of children at time of interview	107	109	167	184
No. of families with 2 children only	34	28	12	14
No. of families with 3 or more children	11	14	34	32
Median age of children at interview	4	4	6	6

classes. We attempted to make the same comparison with regard to the training demands in middle childhood.

Throughout this research, we have conceived of personality as an organization consisting of (1) learned responses, (habits, thoughts, feelings, values, goals) and (2) the genetic factors of organic irritability, growth tempo, fatigue rate, etc. *The CULTURAL aspects of personality are the responses learned in conformity with the incentives and demands of a human group (a family, a gang, a social class). The INDIVIDUAL aspects of personality include genetic factors, and in addition all other traits which distinguish between men who have been trained in the same culture, but whose responses to this training have varied according to the particular conditions under which the training took place.*

The primary questions which this research attacked were: (1) What are the training demands exerted upon the white and the Negro child in lower class and middle class

of the differences and relates them systematically to a theory of social structure and the socialization of the individual.

#### PROCEDURE

The study consisted of holding guided interviews with mothers of young children, recording their responses on a schedule, and making a statistical analysis of the data from the schedules. All the mothers were residents of Chicago, and most of them lived on the South Side of Chicago.

There were fifty mothers in each of four groups, white middle class, white lower class, Negro middle class, and Negro lower class. Data on the ages of the mothers and fathers, the number of children, and the ages of their children are given in Table I.

<sup>6</sup>Martha C. Ericson, "Child-Rearing and Social Status," *American Journal of Sociology*, 53, 190-192 (Nov. 1946).

<sup>7</sup>John E. Anderson, *The Young Child in the Home*. White House Conference on Child Health and Protection. New York: Appleton-Century, 1936.

TABLE II. MEDIAN AGES IN MONTHS FOR VARIOUS ASPECTS OF FEEDING AND TOILET TRAINING

	White				Negro			
	Middle N.	Median	Lower N.	Median	Middle N.	Median	Lower N.	Median
Breast feeding finished	75	3.8	114	4.9	88	8.5	159	9.4
Bottle feeding finished	95	10.7	123	12.9	74	12.5	99	12.6
Sucking finished	99	10.5	147	12.8	104	12.0	177	12.2
Bowel training begun	99	7.5	158	10.2	105	5.5	172	8.5
Bowel training complete	91	18.4	152	18.8	95	13.4	160	18.6
Bladder training begun	93	11.2	156	12.2	102	9.2	124	11.1
Bladder training complete	81	24.6	139	24.0	76	18.0	143	19.0

The interviewers were five women, who were trained specifically for the interviewing task in several sessions with the authors of this study. The interview was a lengthy one, lasting usually from two to three hours, and

often taking place in two separate sessions.

The schedule for the interview was developed by one of the authors (A.D.) on the basis of previous work of this kind. It consisted of three main parts: The first and

TABLE III. PROPORTIONS OF CHILDREN WITH CERTAIN KINDS OF FEEDING AND TOILET-TRAINING EXPERIENCE

	White				Negro			
	Middle No/Total	%	Lower No/Total	%	Middle No/Total	%	Lower No/Total	%
Children breast fed only	5/106	5	28/163	17	32/107	30	80/179	45
Children bottle fed only	31/100	31	49/151	32	19/106	18	20/179	11
Children both breast and bottle fed	63/99	64	90/147	61	58/104	56	84/174	48
Children breast fed one month or more	76/106	72	118/163	72	90/107	83	164/179	92
Children breast fed longer than 3 months	34/106	32	66/163	41	63/107	59	145/179	81
Children sucking longer than 12 months	21/99	21	66/147	45	32/104	31	51/177	29
Children fed when they seemed hungry	3/106	3	53/153	35	6/108	6	87/175	50
Children having pacifiers	1/107	1	22/167	13	8/105	7	17/184	9
Children held for bottle or breast fed only	53/79	67	72/166	43	78/108	72	99/179	55
Children weaned sharply	20/101	20	23/154	15	7/105	7	39/182	21
Children who sucked thumb	54/105	51	30/166	18	50/104	48	54/183	30
Bowel training begun at 6 mo. or earlier	48/99	49	36/158	23	91/105	87	49/172	29
Bowel training complete at end of 12 mo.	25/91	28	31/152	21	46/95	49	37/160	23
Bladder training begun at 6 mo. or earlier	17/95	18	22/157	14	4/102	40	22/124	18
Bladder training complete at end of 18 mo.	26/81	32	67/139	48	51/76	67	73/143	51
No. of children who have masturbated	56/104	54	27/162	17	30/102	29	27/182	15



longest section dealt with the actual training of the child or children by the mother, and with individual differences in personality among the children in the family. The second section dealt with the mother's expectations concerning the occupation, education, and responsibilities and privileges of her children, with the child's regimen (meals, sleep, recre-

as defined and described by Warner and Lunt<sup>8</sup> and by Davis, Gardner, and Gardner.<sup>9</sup>

The principal factors used in making the classification were occupation of parents and their siblings, education of parents, their siblings, and grandparents, property ownership, membership in churches and other associations, and section of the city. One of the

TABLE IV. MOTHERS' REPORTS ON STRICTNESS OF REGIME

	White		Negro	
	Middle %	Lower %	Middle %	Lower %
Do children take nap in daytime?				
Yes	89	52	86	63
No	9	46	12	21
Sometimes	2	2	2	16
Total No. answering	46	50	50	48
Age at which boys go to movie alone				
5-7 years	17	35	35	70
Over 8	83	65	52	30
Doesn't approve of movies for child	0	0	13	0
Total No. answering	23	40	23	40
Age at which girls go to movie alone				
5-7	14	45	0	5
Over 8	86	55	72	95
Doesn't approve of movies for child	0	0	28	30
Total No. answering	28	42	32	37
Time boys in house at night				
5-6 o'clock	59	33	31	2
7-8 o'clock	32	33	63	57
9-10 o'clock	5	26	0	41
At will	4	8	0	0
Children not allowed on street	0	0	6	0
Total No. answering	22	39	32	44
Time girls in house at night				
5-6 o'clock	68	33	35	8
7-8 o'clock	29	39	56	63
9-10 o'clock	3	23	0	26
At will	0	5	0	0
Children not allowed on street	0	0	9	3
Total No. answering	31	39	34	38

ation) relations with father, etc. The third section dealt with socio-economic data concerning the mother and father and their families.

The families were classified into middle and lower social classes by using data from the interview which have been found to be closely correlated with social class placement

authors (A.D.) discussed these data with the interviewer in each case, and made the

<sup>8</sup>W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, *The Social Life of a Modern Community*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941.

<sup>9</sup>Allison Davis, Burleigh B. Gardner, and Mary R. Gardner, *Deep South*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941.

TABLE V. CLASS DIFFERENCES IN CHILD REARING

*Feeding and Weaning*

- More lower-class children are breast-fed only.  
 More lower-class children breast-fed longer than 3 months (Negro only).  
 More lower-class children are fed at will.  
 Weaning takes place earlier (on the average) among middle-class children (white only).  
 More lower-class children suck longer than 12 months (white only).  
 More lower-class children have pacifiers (white only).  
 (c) More middle-class children are held for feeding.  
 (c) More lower-class are weaned sharply (Negro only).

*Toilet Training*

- Bowel training is begun earlier (on the average) with middle-class children.  
 Bladder training is begun earlier (on the average) with middle-class children.  
 Bowel training is completed earlier by middle-class children (Negro only).  
 More middle-class parents begin bowel training at 6 months or earlier.  
 More middle-class parents begin bladder training at 6 months or earlier (Negro only).  
 More middle-class parents complete bowel training at 12 months or earlier (Negro only).  
 More middle-class parents complete bladder training at 18 months or earlier (Negro only).  
 (c) More lower-class parents complete bladder training at 18 months or earlier (white only).

*Father-Child Relations*

- Middle-class fathers spend more time with children.  
 Middle-class fathers spend more time in educational activities with children (teaching, reading, and taking for walks).  
 Lower-class fathers discipline children more (Negro only).

*Occupational Expectations for Children*

- Middle class expect higher occupational status for children.

*Educational Expectation (Length of Education)*

- More middle-class children expected to go to college.

*Age of Assuming Responsibility*

- Middle class expect child to help at home earlier.  
 Middle-class girls cross street earlier (whites only).  
 (c) Lower-class boys and girls cross street earlier (Negro only).  
 Middle-class boys and girls expected to go downtown alone earlier.  
 Middle-class girls expected to help with younger children earlier.  
 Middle-class girls expected to begin to cook earlier (white only).  
 Middle-class girls expected to begin to sew earlier (white only).  
 Middle-class girls expected to do dishes earlier (Negro only).  
 (c) Lower-class children expected to get job after school earlier.  
 (c) Lower-class children expected to quit school and go to work earlier.

*Strictness of Regime*

- Middle-class children take naps in daytime more frequently.  
 Lower-class boys and girls allowed at movies alone earlier.  
 Middle-class boys and girls in house at night earlier.

classification. There was seldom any doubt as to the proper classification. For the Negro group, the criteria were parallel to those for the classification of the white families, but shifted systematically because of restrictions on opportunity for Negroes in American society. For example, where the occupation of mail carrier would have suggested lower-class status for a white man, it suggested middle-class status for a Negro.

Since all the mothers were native-born, the

factor of foreign parentage was ruled out of the study to a considerable extent. Nevertheless, this factor did appear in the white lower-class sample to a limited degree, due to the fact that about a third of this group were of fairly recent foreign extraction, largely Italian, living in South Chicago. The remainder of the lower-class white group live in the Woodlawn and Hyde Park Areas, and are practically all of "old American" stock.

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The middle-class sample is probably more representative of upper-middle than of lower-middle class people, with a high proportion of fathers in professions and managerial positions in business. The lower-class sample is definitely upper-lower rather than lower-lower class. The fathers were mainly steady,

which one of the interviewers had grown up. The Woodlawn lower-class group was obtained by calling at random in certain areas where housing was obviously poor, and passing from one family to another with whom the person being interviewed was acquainted. Any systematic bias introduced by these pro-

TABLE VI. COLOR DIFFERENCES IN CHILD REARING

*Feeding and Weaning*

- More Negro children are breast fed only.
- More Negro children are breast fed for three months or more.
- More Negro children are fed at will (lower class only).
- More Negro children have pacifiers (middle class only).
- More white children are weaned sharply (middle class only).
- Weaning takes place earlier (on the average) among white children (middle class only).
- (c) More white children suck longer than 12 months (lower class only).

*Toilet Training*

- Bowel training is begun earlier with Negro children.
- Bladder training is begun earlier with Negro children.
- Bowel training is completed earlier with Negro children (middle class only).
- Bladder training is completed earlier with Negro children.
- More Negro parents begin bowel training at 6 months or earlier (middle class only).
- More Negro parents begin bladder training at 6 months or earlier (middle class only).
- More Negro parents complete bowel training at 12 months or earlier (middle class only).
- More Negro parents complete bladder training at 18 months or earlier (middle class only).

*Father-Child Relations*

- White fathers spend more time with children (lower class only).
- White fathers teach and play more with children (lower class only).
- Negro fathers discipline children more (lower class only).

*Educational Expectations (Length of Education)*

- More Negro children expected to go to college (lower class only).

*Age of Assuming Responsibility*

- Negro boys and girls cross street earlier (lower class only).
- (c) White girls cross street earlier (middle class only).
- Negro boys go downtown alone earlier (lower class only).
- Negro girls expected to dress selves earlier.
- Negro girls expected to go to store earlier.
- Negro girls expected to begin to cook earlier (lower class only).
- (c) Negro children expected to quit school and go to work later.

*Strictness of Regime*

- Negro boys allowed to go to movies alone earlier.
- (c) White girls allowed to go to movies alone earlier.
- White boys and girls in house at night earlier.

hard-working people at the semi-skilled and skilled levels.

The sample was not secured by a random procedure. Rather, it consisted mainly of people who had children in certain nursery schools, some private, and some war nurseries supported mainly by public funds. The South Chicago group consisted mainly of people who lived in the neighborhood in

cedures lay probably in the direction of getting a middle-class group which had been subjected to the kind of teaching about child-rearing which is prevalent among middle-class people who send their children to nursery schools.

## RESULTS

There are a large number of reliable differences between classes and between colors.

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The following tables report the differences between classes and colors on certain parts of the schedule. Those differences which are statistically reliable are summarized in Tables V and VI.

#### *Feeding, Weaning and Toilet Training.*

Table II shows the median ages for various aspects of feeding and toilet training, while Table III shows the proportions of children in the various class and color groups who had certain kinds of feeding and toilet training experience.

#### *Strictness of Regime.*

There were several questions in the interview which explored the degree of strictness of the regime set up by parents. These questions dealt with daytime naps, time children are due in the house at night, and age of going to the movies alone; all things in which the impulses of the child sometimes run counter to parental desires. Table IV shows the results on these questions.

#### *Age of Assuming Responsibility.*

A number of the questions dealt with the age at which certain things are expected, such as dressing oneself, helping with younger children, learning to cook and to sew; and with the age at which certain responsibilities would be permitted, such as crossing the street alone. In general these questions dealt with the theme of *assuming responsibility*. "At what age does your child assume responsibility for one thing or another?" was asked in a variety of forms. There is not space enough to report the results of this section in detail, but the reliable differences are summarized in Tables V and VI. In general, it may be said that middle-class children are expected by their parents to assume responsibility earlier than lower-class children are expected to assume similar responsibilities by their parents.

#### *Summary of Class Differences and Color Differences.*

Table V summarizes the class differences which are statistically reliable at the five

per cent level, while Table VI summarizes the color differences which are statistically reliable at the same level. It will be seen that the differences tend to go together; a letter (c) indicates that the finding contradicts the general tendency of the results. For example, the general tendency is for lower-class children to be treated more permissively than middle-class children with respect to feeding and weaning. Contradictory to this tendency, however, more middle-class children are held for feeding.

#### *Comparison of Class and Color Differences.*

In Table VII are summarized quantitatively the differences in the results which are statistically reliable at the five per cent level. All differences which are statistically reliable are also practically significant, for the small numbers of cases prevent us from securing reliable differences which are quantitatively small and therefore of little practical significance.

The procedure in making this table was to count all differences which were statistically reliable and independent. By independent differences we mean differences which could not be calculated from other differences already on our list. For example, if we note the difference in percentages of parents in two groups who report their children as taking naps in the daytime, we do not include the difference between these same groups who report their children as not taking naps, since this difference depends on the first one. We listed all of the reliable and independent differences—which included differences in training procedure, symptoms of maladjustment, age and sex expectations; as well as education, property ownership, associational membership, etc., of parents and their relatives. We then counted these differences with the results shown in Table VII. There were more class differences than color differences, and the class differences occurred approximately equally often in Negro and white groups.

We then put as many of the differences as possible into the categories of Table VII. Three categories of permissivity are summed

up in the total Permissivity score. The category of Training for Assumption of Responsibility is not included in the Permissivity score, and it is scored in the opposite direction, a high score on Training for Assumption of Responsibility being analogous to a low score on Permissivity.

or two children. Another difficulty undoubtedly lay in the fact that personality traits are results of multiple causation. For example, the causes of aggressive behavior in one child may be quite different from the causes of apparently similar behavior in another child.

Despite these difficulties, we have suc-

TABLE VII. SUMMARY OF CLASS AND COLOR DIFFERENCES

*Number of Statistically Reliable Differences  
Between Classes and Between Colors*

Class			Color		
White		Negro	Middle Class		Lower Class
50	between classes	52	37	between colors	39
	<i>Middle Class</i>	Permissivity (Total)		<i>Whites</i>	
2	more permissive	2	9	more permissive	5
13	less permissive	15	8	less permissive	6
	<i>Middle Class</i>	<i>Food Training</i>		<i>Whites</i>	
1	more permissive	2	0	more permissive	1
5	less permissive	3	5	less permissive	3
	<i>Middle Class</i>	<i>Toilet Training</i>		<i>Whites</i>	
1	more permissive	0	8	more permissive	3
3	less permissive	7	0	less permissive	0
	<i>Middle Class</i>	<i>Regimen</i>		<i>Whites</i>	
0	more permissive	0	1	more permissive	1
5	less permissive	5	3	less permissive	3
	<i>Middle Class</i>	Training for Responsibility		<i>Whites</i>	
8	more severe	6	1	more severe	0
2	less severe	4	4	less severe	8

#### *Individual Personality Traits.*

In addition to studying class and color differences in child-rearing we attempted to secure information on the relations between children's experiences during training and their personality traits. This was done through questions about birth-order, physical activity, generosity, jealousy, happiness, and other characteristics.

A number of difficulties prevented us from making a great deal out of this part of the study. Chief among these difficulties was the fact that mothers' testimony on personality traits of their children is somewhat ambiguous. For example, one mother may report a child as selfish for behavior which would not be considered especially selfish by another mother. Again, mothers with several children will be able to make comparative statements, such as "this child was hard to train," or "this child was very generous," with more certainty of being right than mothers of one

ceeded in discovering a few statistically reliable relationships between children's early experience and their personality characteristics, as reported by these mothers.

*Physical Activity Related to Personality Traits.* Considering all families, *except those with only one child*, we attempted to find the relations between degree of physical activity when young and other characteristics. Physical activity was taken as an index of physical vigor, combined with a drive for exploration. Since the mothers were asked which child was most active when young, and which was most quiet when young, we could compare the "most active" and the "most quiet" for other characteristics. The children who were most active when young, compared with those who were most quiet when young, tend to be: most active now, most punished, more aggressive, and less neat.

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*Traits.* When the children reported as "most generous" are compared with those reported as "most selfish" the following relationships occur. The "most generous" children tend to be the happiest, and to fight less. In the white but not the Negro group, the "most generous" children tend to have been more quiet as infants. There is no consistent relation between selfishness and neatness as reported by the mothers.

#### *Birth Order and Personality.*

In studying the relation of birth-order to personality traits, we were forced to content ourselves with a study of the differences between first and second children in middle-class families with only two children. It would not have been wise to group all second children together because those with younger siblings would be in a different family constellation from those without younger siblings. If birth-order influences personality, it probably does so through placing children of different birth-order in different emotional relationships with other members of the family. Consequently, since a second child in a family with only two children would be in quite a different situation than a second child in a family with several children, we restricted our study to families with two children. Among both white and Negro middle-class families with only two children, the following pattern emerges.

The first child tends to be: more jealous, more selfish, and neater.

The second child tends to be: happier, more generous, and more punished.

#### DISCUSSION

The answer is clear to the principal question which this study was designed to answer. There are considerable social class differences in child-rearing practices, and these differences are greater than the differences between Negroes and whites of the same social class.

#### *Personality Implications of Social Class Differences in Child-Rearing.*

Middle-class families are more rigorous

than lower class families in their training of children for feeding and cleanliness habits. They generally begin training earlier. Furthermore, middle-class families place more emphasis on the early assumption of responsibility for the self and on individual achievement. Finally, middle-class families are less permissive than lower-class families in their regimen. They require their children to take naps at a later age, to be in the house at night earlier, and, in general, permit less free play of the impulses of their children.

Generalizing from the evidence presented in the tables, we would say that middle-class children are subjected earlier and more consistently to the influences which make a child an orderly, conscientious, responsible, and tame person. In the course of this training middle-class children probably suffer more frustration of their impulses.

In the light of these findings, the data with respect to thumb-sucking are interesting. Three times as many white middle-class children are reported to suck their thumbs as white lower-class children, and almost twice as many Negro middle-class children do likewise. Thumb-sucking is generally thought of as a response to frustration of the hunger drive, or of the drive to seek pleasure through sucking. Since middle-class children are fed less frequently and are weaned earlier, the higher incidence of thumb-sucking would be expected. The Negro middle-class children are treated much more permissively than the white middle-class children with respect to feeding and weaning, but much more rigorously with respect to toilet-training. Yet the proportion of Negro middle-class children reported as sucking their thumb is almost the same as the proportion of white middle-class children so reported. *Perhaps thumb-sucking is a response to frustration of any sort, rather than to frustration in the feeding area alone.*

The data with respect to masturbation are also of interest in this connection. Three times as many white middle-class as compared with lower-class children are reported as masturbating. Twice as many Negro middle-class children as compared with Negro



lower-class children are reported as masturbating. The meaning of these findings is obscured by the possibility that some lower-class mothers may not have understood the question. Or it may be that some of them did not watch as carefully for masturbation as middle-class mothers do, or some lower-class mothers may have been more hesitant than middle-class mothers in admitting that their children followed this practice. Yet none of these explanations seems probable, and perhaps the data should be taken at their face value. Perhaps masturbation is much more common among middle-class infants than among lower-class infants. If this is true, it might be explained in terms of the hypothesis that masturbation is in part a palliative to frustration. Children who are frustrated more would masturbate more, according to the hypothesis.

It is a surprising fact that the middle-class mothers, in general, expected their children to assume responsibility earlier in the home, to help with the younger children, and to cook and sew at an earlier age. For it seems obvious that there is more actual need of the children's help in lower-class families, where the work of children to be cared for is greater and the mother has very little help with the housework. The explanation probably lies in a tendency on the part of middle-class people to train their children early for achievement and responsibility, while lower-class people train their children to take responsibility only after the child is old enough to make the effort of training pay substantial returns in the work the child will do. Middle-class parents can afford to use time to train children to dress themselves, help around the home, sew, cook, and so on, at such an early age that the children cannot repay this training effort by their actual performance, although they may repay it by adopting attitudes of self-achievement and responsibility.

In addition to training their children to take responsibility early and to adopt attitudes favorable to self-achievement, middle-class families attempt to curb those impulses of the child which would lead to poor health,

waste of time, and bad moral habits, according to middle-class views. Therefore they require their children to take day-time naps longer, to come into the house at night earlier and they do not permit their children to go alone to movies at an early age. Nevertheless, they encourage their children to be venture-some in the more "constructive" activities, from the middle-class point of view, of going downtown alone to museums, department stores, dancing lessons and the like.

Whether the middle-class or the lower-class practices are preferable is, of course, largely a matter of private opinion. But it is significant that there is now a considerable body of scientific and lay judgment operating in the middle class to make child-rearing practices more permissive. It is contended that the orthodox middle-class practices make children too anxious, and frustrate them too much for the best mental health in later life. On the other hand, it may be contended that civilized life requires the individual to be tamed and to learn to take constructive control of his impulses. A certain degree of anxiety is valuable, in that it puts the individual on his toes to learn the lessons and meet the demands of modern society in order to win the very considerable rewards of modern civilized social life.

Our own view is that the better child-rearing practices can be drawn from both middle and lower-class life and made into a combination which is superior to both of the norms as they emerge in this study.

#### *Personality Implications of Color Differences in Child-Rearing.*

The striking thing about this study is that Negro and white middle-class families are so much alike, and that white and Negro lower-class families are so much alike. The likenesses hold for such characteristics as number of children, ages of parents when married, as well as child-rearing practices and expectations of children.

There are, however, some very interesting color differences. The major color differences are found in the areas of feeding and cleanliness training.

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Negroes are much more permissive than whites in the feeding and weaning of their children. The difference is greater in the middle class. Negro babies have a markedly different feeding and weaning experience from white babies.

The situation is reversed with respect to toilet-training. Here the Negro parents are much stricter than white parents, both in middle and lower-class circles. For example, 87 per cent of Negro middle-class mothers said they commence bowel training at 6 months or earlier, compared with 49 per cent of white middle-class mothers; and the comparable figures for bladder training are 40 and 18 per cent.

If feeding, weaning, and toilet-training have much influence on the personality, we should expect systematic differences between Negro and white people of the same social class, though it is not at all clear just what these differences should be, since one group is more rigorous in its training in one area while the other group is more rigorous in the other area.

There is another noticeable color difference. Negroes of both classes tend to give their girls an earlier training for responsibility in washing dishes, going to the store, and dressing themselves. This is probably traceable to the fact that Negroes of both classes have less outside help in the home than whites do and consequently the help of the girls is more urgently needed. It is noticeable, also, that middle-class Negro girls are not allowed to play across the street or to go to the movies alone as early as white middle-class girls. This may be due to the fact that most middle-class Negroes are forced to live in much less desirable neighborhoods, from their point of view, than those in which middle-class whites live.

#### *Personality Implications of Intra-Family Differences.*

The questionnaire was designed to get information on personality characteristics of children as they might be related to birth order, training experience, and kinds of discipline used. Very few pronounced relation-

ships appeared. This may have been due to several factors. Perhaps the interview method as we used it is not suited to getting information on individual personality characteristics. Again, perhaps such relations as exist are too complicated to be seen clearly in a study like this with a relatively small number of subjects. Nevertheless, there were a few interesting intra-family relationships.

For instance, the relation of "activity when young" to other characteristics is of considerable importance, since the degree of physical activity when young may be taken as an index of native vitality and of whatever inborn drive there may be for exploration or for physical activity. As we should expect, those "most active when young" were reported as most frequently punished, and as most active now. They were also reported as fighting most now, and as least neat. They were reported as happiest, except in the case of the white middle class. In general, it appears that various types of expressive, impulsive behavior tend to go together, and to characterize the happy child. An exception must be made of the white middle class, where happiness is reported by the mothers as associated with quietness rather than activity in the young child.

There are only a few characteristics clearly related to generosity and selfishness, though happiness and absence of fighting seem to be tied up with generosity. On the basis of simple Freudian principles one might expect selfishness and neatness to go together, but this hypothesis is not borne out by the data.

The data on birth order in relation to personality characteristics show some interesting trends. The first child in middle-class families of two children tends to be more jealous and more selfish than the second child. This may be taken as evidence in favor of the hypothesis of downward sibling rivalry as strongly influential in personality formation. Still, it is well to remember that mothers of young children, when there are only two in the family, may report the older as more jealous and selfish merely because the older is bigger and more able to

assert himself. The second child was reported as happier and more generous, and also as more punished.

#### CONCLUSIONS

This study has given clear evidence of the following things:

1. There are significant differences in child-rearing practices between the middle and lower social classes in a large city. The same type of differences exist between middle and lower-class Negroes as between middle and lower-class whites.

2. Middle-class parents are more rigorous than lower-class parents in their training of children for feeding and cleanliness habits. They also expect their children to take responsibility for themselves earlier than lower-class parents do. Middle-class parents place their children under a stricter regimen, with more frustration of their impulses, than do lower-class parents.

3. In addition to these social-class differences, there are some differences between Negroes and whites in their child-rearing practices. Negroes are more permissive than whites in the feeding and weaning of their children, but they are much more rigorous than whites in toilet-training.

4. Thus there are *cultural differences* in the personality formation of middle-class compared with lower-class people, *regardless of color*, due to their early training. And for the same reason there should be further but less marked cultural differences between Negroes and whites of the same social class.

5. In addition to the cultural differences between individuals due to early training experience, there are individual personality differences between children in the same family. These are probably due to physiological differences and to differences in emotional relationships with other members of the family.

## HUMOR AS A TECHNIQUE IN RACE CONFLICT

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THE TYPE of group behavior we call race relations contains many aspects which must be classified as conflict patterns of behavior. In conflict, the involved parties make use of a variety of techniques to gain ascendancy or temporary advantage. Since subtle barbs often strike more telling blows than gratuitous insult or rational argument, not infrequently these techniques include humor, satire, irony and wit.<sup>1</sup>

Humor lends itself particularly well to use as a conflict device because of its almost boundless limits in subject matter, and because its nature is such that it often contains more or less well concealed malice. Jowett has said that every amusing story must of necessity be unkind, untrue, or immoral. Thomas Hobbes believed that humor

arises from a conception of superiority in ourselves by comparison with the inferiority of others. Crothers has called it the "frank enjoyment of the imperfect," and more recently James L. Ford has said that humor "is founded on the deathless principle of seeing someone get the worst of it."<sup>2</sup> It is not surprising that humor frequently is used as a conflict technique.

Throughout the history of minority-majority group relations in this country the set of techniques which we may denominate by the general term humor has played a definite role in inter-personal and inter-group relationships. Apparently all minority groups suffer derogation in this manner, and apparently all use the same weapon in return. In the United States, this has been particularly

<sup>1</sup> —, "Wit is a Weapon," *Nation*, 939: 609, November 28, 1934.

<sup>2</sup> All quoted in Milton Wright, *What's Funny—and Why*, pp. 6-8, McGraw-Hill, 1939.



true with reference to Negroes and Jews, but quite noticeable also in connection with Catholics, Mormons, Quakers, Italians, Greeks, Germans, Irish, Chinese, Japanese, Indians, Mexicans and others. Such use of humor may be considered as a universal phenomenon. Valid studies can be made of humor as a conflict technique in connection with any American minority group, but for purposes of cohesion and integration a single minority group, the Negro, will be discussed here.

An obvious division of "race-conscious" humor into four categories immediately presents itself. That is, the joke may be 1) by Negroes and pro-Negroes; 2) by Negroes and anti-white; 3) by whites and pro-white; or 4) by whites and anti-Negro. Types two and four are by all odds the most common and particularly fit the present discussion.

In any conflict it is most gratifying to cause one's adversary to appear ludicrous in his own eyes. Where this is not possible, very considerable satisfaction can be secured by making your opponent appear ludicrous in your eyes. It is exactly this which humor does. It is difficult to the point of impossibility to assign malice a specific role in "race" humor. One person may relate a humorous situation somewhat derogatory to a minority group and do it in all good will; possibly in his own mind taking into account only the situation itself and attaching it to a minority group only because he himself heard it told that way. He may think of himself as a liberal and as having nothing but good will for the minority involved. In other cases the same situation may be related by a different person. To him the real humor is in the discomfiture of the butt of the joke. He would see nothing of humor in the situation if the butt were of his own group. It should be pointed out further that a given joke may not appear derogatory to the majority who circulate it, but may be deemed scurrilous by the more sensitive minority who are more or less unintentionally involved.

In many instances the bit of humor is in itself merely a tool, and thus may be ma-

nipulated as any user sees fit. Thus there are many maliciously humorous situations which are related by whites with the Negro as the butt of the humor and related by Negroes with the white as the recipient of the barb. Many jokes become "race conscious" or "racially humorous" merely by the addition of color to the persons involved. For example, when a *colored* boy could not do his geometry, his *white* teacher says he should be ashamed, for when George Washington was his age he was a surveyor. To which the Negro youth replies, "Yes, and when he was your age he was President." With the simple addition of color, the barb of the humor no longer particularly strikes at teachers (pupil-teacher conflict and "teacher" stereotypes), but now becomes symbolic of the Negro-white conflict and draws its humor from the discomfiture of the stereotyped superior white.

In any event, most Negro-white wit makes one race or the other appear as the butt of the humor. In the case of jokes by whites about Negroes, it is typical that some stereotyped characteristic or supposed characteristic is the point of the humor. Stories about Negroes and chickens, chicken houses, and chicken stealing depend for part or most of their humor on the stereotyped insatiable appetite of the Negro for chicken. To a person who does not have a comparable stereotype, they hold little or no humor.<sup>3</sup> Very much like the above and also very common are stories centering in the thickness and hardness of the Negro's skull and the blackness of his skin.

A high percentage of humor of any type centers in the various aspects of sex, and this is true of jokes by whites about Negroes.<sup>4</sup> Given the not uncommon stereotyped conception of the Negro as a sexually uninhibited person, it is not surprising that a myriad of jokes exist which relate to the sexual exploits or delinquencies of the Negro, particularly Negro girls. Some depend upon

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Cohen, David L., "White Folks are Easy to Please," *Sat. Rev. of Lit.* 27: 12, November 25, 1944.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Myrdal, Gunnar, *An American Dilemma*. New York: Harpers, 1944, p. 38.

sex, and some depend almost entirely upon the above mentioned stereotype.<sup>5</sup> A typical example of the latter is the rather lengthy story concerning the Negro man being charged with rape by a Negro girl. He explains his side of the story and concludes by telling the white jurors, "and you know as well as I do that there ain't never been no nigger gal raped." This convulses the jury, who immediately free him. Needless to say, without the proper stereotype, such stories are completely humorless.

Another favorite type of humor by whites about Negroes lampoons the pomposity, avarice, ignorance, and emotionalism of the stereotyped "nigger preacher" and his congregation. A large proportion of these situations might be humorous regardless of the racial angle, as is true of many other types of "Negro" jokes. Such, for example, is the case in which the visiting Negro minister catches the chief Deacon abstracting 50¢ from the collection; he remonstrates, and the Deacon replies, "Bless you, Brother, I been leadin' off with that same 50¢ piece for nearly eight years." So, too, the case of the Negro minister raising funds who tells his congregation, "The church has been walking (loud amens); but it ought to run (loud amens); it ought to do more, it ought to fly (loud amens); but to fly it needs money;" (dead silence, then one voice, "Let her walk, Brother, let her walk"). Such humor does not depend wholly on its racial connotations, but the possession of the proper stereotype adds considerably to the enjoyment of the listener.

To most Caucasians the notion of jokes by Negroes lampooning whites comes somewhat as a surprise. Yet as an actuality such humor may out-date its white counterpart. For many decades Negroes were usually in a position in which their conflict and defense techniques against the whites had to be covert rather than overt. This favored the growth of the more subtle type of humor as a

weapon of both offense and defense.<sup>6</sup> Some modern stories still retain this subtlety of derogation; as for example the two Negro maids who were comparing notes:

"At my place I have a terrible time; all day it's 'Yes, Ma'am,' 'Yes, Ma'am,' 'Yes, Ma'am.'"

"Me, too," says the other, "but with me it's 'No, Sir,' 'No, Sir,' 'No, Sir.'"

It must be noted especially in this connection that humor lies primarily in the individual's reaction to a situation, not in the situation itself. Nothing in the whole field of humor is more common than the observation that a situation which is uproariously funny to one person will serve only to amuse someone else mildly, and will leave a third party blank and uncomprehending. An incident concerning a deaf man may be quite humorous to those who hear well, but completely devoid of humor for those who are hard of hearing. Thus it is typical that whites see little if anything of humor in many jokes by Negroes concerning whites, and vice versa. This holds true regardless of whether malice is intended or not. It is to be expected, for example, that the jokes here used as illustrations of anti-white humor will seldom appear humorous to white readers, and vice versa. So marked is the influence of one's viewpoint that an occasional story is told by both Negroes and whites, each thinking it is a joke on the other party. One such example concerns the new Negro foreign language professor who attempts to vote in the Southern town in which his college is located. He must pass a literacy test. He is given a newspaper and asked what it says. He reads from it. He is given in succession Spanish, French, and German papers, from which he reads. Then he is given a Chinese paper and triumphantly asked what it says. Unable to read Chinese, he throws it down saying, "It says Negroes can't vote in—!"

It is unfortunate that many of the most illustrative jokes against whites, like those

<sup>5</sup> For a more detailed discussion of Negro-white sexual stereotypes see John Dollard, *Caste and Class in a Southern Town*. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1937, Chap. VII and pp. 394-98.

<sup>6</sup> For a discussion of covert types of Negro aggression see Dollard, *op. cit.*, Chap. 14, passim, and W. E. B. DuBois, *The Souls of Black Folk*. Chicago: McClurg & Co., 1903, pp. 204-05.

<sup>7</sup> For behavior *op. cit.*, p. 1

against Negroes are too crude and obscene for the printed word. In them the real power of the pent-up animosity of the Negro appears most clearly and starkly. These bits of humor very commonly involve "the retort discourteous" by a Negro girl to a white woman or to a white man. Less frequently is a Negro man involved; seldom is the alleged conversation between a Negro man and white woman, except in the case of stories transmitted solely by oral methods. One of the rare exceptions to this is the story of the white woman who enters a street car; a white soldier surrenders his seat which is next to a Negro civilian. She says "I won't sit next to that 4F nigger."

The Negro calmly asks, "Have you a son in the service?"

"I have two, both overseas."

"Good," says the Negro, "tell them to look for the right arm I left over there."

The lady got off at the next stop.

To the Negro any joke is particularly humorous if it shows Jim-Crow "backfiring" on a Southerner. Rather common is the situation in which a Negro is treated as a "darky" and then is discovered to be the superior of the white in distinction, education or rank. Typical is the situation during the late war in which a Southern officer stationed in England was seated next to a Negro at an official dinner. He completely ignores the Negro until the end of the meal, when he condescends to remark, "Rastus, Ah reckon you-all miss yo' watermelon." It soon develops that the Negro is the guest-of-honor, a renowned Oxford scholar, and a high colonial official who makes a brilliant speech. Naturally the officer figits very uncomfortably and when the Negro sits down he says sarcastically to the officer, "Yes, Rastus sho' do miss his watermelon."

A back-firing Jim Crow story now going the rounds reputedly concerns a high officer in the National Urban League. This Negro wishes to purchase a car in Atlanta. The white salesman greets him warmly, but con-

stantly refers to him as "boy." All is arranged, but the "boy" says he wishes to wait a day to make the final decision. When he returns he is greeted with "Glad to see you, boy. You'll be proud of this car; not another boy in Atlanta will have a better one."

"Sorry," the Negro replies, "but the deal is off. I read the law last night and it says minors in Georgia cannot purchase cars; and since I am a boy, as you have so frequently reminded me, it would be illegal to buy a car from you." With which he exits.

As often as not the stories of the back-fire of Jim-Crow attitudes contain a sort of double bitterness toward the restrictions and toward the attitudes of the whites who impose such restrictions.<sup>8</sup> When such attitudes and such restrictions both react against the white, the story is doubly appreciated. For example, in an Eastern college city a torrid romance between a light-skinned colored boy and a white girl was interrupted by the draft. A year later he was back on furlough; to his surprise she had become a mother.

"Why didn't you write me you were married?"

"I'm not; and this is your child."

"Why didn't you tell me; I would have come home and married you."

"I know, but I talked it over with my family and they decided they'd rather have an illegitimate child in the family than a nigger."

As a matter of fact, colored people very commonly laugh at the absurdity of Jim-Crow incidents or the variegated nuances of the color line. They could hardly accept the white world's daily boorishness in any other way and retain their mental equilibrium.<sup>9</sup> This may account for the following story told the author by Negroes in three different areas; in each case it was recounted as an actual incident.

"I went into the store at ——— to get some tobacco. I asked for 'Prince Albert'

<sup>8</sup> Doyle, B. F., *The Etiquette of Race Relations in the South*, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1937, p. 163.

<sup>9</sup> See Myrdal, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-39, 1931, and Dollard, *op. cit.*, Chap. 14, *passim*.

<sup>\*</sup> For a discussion of different standards of caste behavior for Negro men and women, see Dollard, *op. cit.*, pp. 288-89.



and the clerk said "See the man on that can? He's white. Say "Mister Prince Albert." I thought for a minute and then said "No thank you, sir; I believe I'll just take Bull Durham; I don't have to "mister" him."

Negroes as a whole recognize that some whites are more their foes than are others. Thus Rankin, Bilbo, Dies, Talmadge, Eastland, G. L. K. Smith, the K.K.K., D.A.R., and "Southern crackers" receive more than their share of barbed sallies. So do the poll tax, share cropping, segregated schools, southern politics, segregation in the army, and the like.

Not infrequently "race" humor has a grim and even macabre quality. Such is the famous cartoon which appeared first in the *People's Voice* of New York after the Detroit riots. It portrayed two small white boys looking at hunting trophies hanging on the wall of father's den. Among them is the mounted head of a Negro. One small boy says proudly, "Dad got that one in Detroit last week." To many whites the idea is devoid of humor; yet many Negroes thought it unusually funny and it was reprinted a number of times.

Langston Hughes attributes another such story to a late college president.<sup>10</sup> In its essentials the incident is that the president was descending the train steps at Atlanta when he heard a scream behind him. A white woman had caught her heel and was falling head first down the steps. The Negro raised his arms to catch her and then quickly dropped them to his sides and let her fall. At this point his Negro audiences usually were swept by gales of laughter, for that was the end of the joke. To them it was funny, for they well knew that in Atlanta something very serious was likely to happen to any Negro who for any reason put his arms around a white woman. She was hurt badly, but it was a good joke on Jim-Crow. Much the same technique was used by Jay Jackson when the Negro hero of his comic strip "Bungleton Green" is unable to make whites

believe saboteurs are about to blow up the local war plant. He deliberately trips a white girl and then catches her in his arms. Pursued by the angry lynch-bent mob, he leads them direct to the saboteurs and then explains the necessity for his dangerous action. It is this same hero and his girl friend whose well chosen, sonorous phrases, clear enunciation, and philosophical speeches are constantly contrasted with the poorly enunciated, ungrammatical and illogical speech of the white Southerners.

A refinement of this technique is frequently used by one of the largest Negro magazines. Its page, "The African Way," contains numerous jokes in which the untutored African savage makes a fool of the white man or ridicules satirically the white man's beliefs, actions, or culture. Also, during the war many jokes circulated by Negroes had a double flavor, for the whites involved were designated as German Nazis or Italian Fascists. This enabled the humorist to "kill two birds with one stone," so that such jokes were frequently particularly malicious and especially successful.

It must not be inferred that most jokes told by Negroes are "race conscious" jokes. This is no more true than to infer that all jokes told by whites are for purposes of minority group defamation. What is true is that from the huge welter of humor, wit, and satire which is current today, both written and oral, it is possible to isolate and examine a not inconsequential amount of humor which has as its primary purpose the continuation of race conflict.<sup>11</sup> Even more common is the borderline type; its chief purpose is humor, but it has secondary aspects which definitely can be related to racial competition and conflict and the social and cultural patterns which have arisen from them.

It might be argued that "race conscious" humor is not actually a conflict technique, since much of it is humorous even if not racially applied, and that racial connotations are chiefly fortuitous. This may be true for a given bit of wit, but not for the totality. Any persons or groups who are the

<sup>10</sup> *The Best of Negro Humor*. Chicago: Negro Digest Publications, 1945, p. 96.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Myrdal, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

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butt of jokes thereby suffer discriminatory treatment and are indirectly being relegated to an inferior status. This is, in turn, typical of conflict in general and gives additional

support to the fact that humor is one of the mechanisms rather frequently pressed into use in the racial conflicts of America.

## AN ETHNIC GROUP'S VIEW OF THE AMERICAN MIDDLE CLASS

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THIS paper is based on five years of field work carried on by undergraduates at Wellesley College in connection with a course on American ethnic groups, though use will be made only of the results obtained in the spring of 1946. The students came in contact with some two or three hundred Armenian-Americans, chiefly of the first and second generation, living in the Boston metropolitan area. Interviews were of some length, ranging from one to five hours. They were chiefly group interviews, with their setting a little more frequently in the home than in the office. For our purpose of qualitative analysis, the home interviews were particularly enlightening, involving as they did informal family interaction around the dinner table.

The informants for this study were chosen largely from that section of the ethnic group which has made a more or less successful adjustment to middle class status. Since the interviewers were inexperienced, it seemed best to give them their initial training in informal interviewing and participant observation under conditions which would tax their emerging skill as lightly as possible. The selection of middle class informants was also justified by the fact that the course was designed to give to undergraduates a first hand understanding of how the "Americanization" process works at its best, rather than to plunge them into a consideration of its failures. Since the informants were not chosen according to any principle of random selection, they cannot be expected to indicate the adjustment of the "average" or the "normal" Armenian-American to American so-

ciety. They do throw light, however, on the various ways by which ethnics of the first and second generation come to terms with the middle class society and culture in the United States.

The attitude is very generally held by Americans that the middle class is a desirable group to which to belong. One of the characteristics differentiating the American ethos from that of most other societies, is to be found in the very large proportion of the population who claim middle class position and resent any suggestion that they belong either above or below that stratum. There is also a common American assumption that immigrants should take over at once the American valuation of relative position in the social structure. Ruggles of Red Gap was only living up to the American tradition of the proper behavior for foreigners, when he threw in his lot with the middle class.

The informants for this study conformed for the most part to American expectations. They came from a mixed background in Europe. They were the children of poor peasants or wealthy landowners, or had been born into urban families engaged in trade or in one of the professions. They had certain advantages as an immigrant group. In the first place, they came intending to stay and to make the best of this country. Their treatment at the hands of the Turks predisposed them to think that everything in the New World was better than its "opposite number" in the country which had expelled them with violence. In the second place, most of them had had a certain amount of contact with urbanized culture and society and had taken

on some urban attitudes and skills before emigrating. They were familiar with a money economy. They were used to strangers and to dealing with people who differed from themselves in culture. Qualities necessary for survival under Turkish rule have proved highly useful in the American success system.

Only one individual was interviewed who could be placed definitely in the American lower class, though he had no social contacts even at that level. A few informants either had transferred directly from the upper class in Europe to the same class in the United States or had been so successful here either professionally or artistically as to have achieved an upper class position. More interesting were the informants, again few in number, who were socially isolated from the middle class. Among them were individuals and families who had been in the upper class before their emigration but who could not, for a variety of reasons, establish a foothold in that stratum over here. They preferred isolation to association with the despised "peasants," who in their view made up the Armenian-American middle class. Again there were a few individuals who would have been perfectly satisfied with a middle class position but who could not make the personality adjustments necessary to fit into either the ethnic or the general community. This was particularly the situation of a widow who had not been trained for the individualistic participation of husbandless women in American society.

The great majority of the informants had both the desire and the capacity to establish themselves in middle class positions either within the ethnic group or in the over-all social structure. If such a position represented a grading down of the expectancies which were instilled in them as children, they were realistic enough to recognize that those expectancies were bound to be disappointed in modern Turkey as well as in America. If they had anticipated for themselves lower class or lower middle class position in Europe, they had the ambition to take full advantage of the American success system and most of them found adequate defences

against too great insecurity at a level higher than that into which they had been born.

What is this middle class to which Armenian-Americans are adjusting and what range of choice does it offer them? This is the question to which this paper is addressed. The answer will be phrased only incidentally in cultural terms. Attention will be focussed primarily upon social relationships and social participation.

The chief thesis of the paper is that the middle class does not present itself to the ethnic as a single integrated whole, but rather as a congeries of unit social systems from which he can make a selection according to his taste and circumstances and which he can combine in various individualized patterns. He manifests his middle class position by participation in a number of social systems which are recognized either by fellow ethnics or by the general community as middle class in status. There is a certain indeterminacy about class position in the United States since few individuals have only class-limited relationships. There is even greater indeterminacy about the ethnic since he usually participates to some extent in ethnic social systems whose relative position in the over-all structure is not too clearly defined. An ethnic also tends to be rated higher in prestige by his own group than by the general community. This made it necessary often to measure the social position of our informants on two scales and to place them at two somewhat different levels, depending on whether they were being classified by standards prevalent within or without the group.

Among social systems, the ethnic can choose not only on the basis of higher and lower but also on ethnic and non-ethnic. The two types of choice are, however, inter-related, for upward mobility tends to be closely associated with movement from intra-ethnic to inter-ethnic participation. Conditions which block the choice of out-group relations in preference to in-group, on the other hand, tend also to obstruct social climbing. The ethnic differs too, in the need for defenses against insecurity. To the in-

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securities common to all would-be aspirants to higher social position, he adds those common to all strangers, whose strangeness is regarded as a mark of inferiority.

There are five groups of unit social systems which present significant choices to the ethnic, and by which his class position is largely determined. They are the family, the church, the occupation, extra-familial intimacy systems, and formal associations, developed around specialized interests other than religious or economic.

So far as the family is concerned, the choice is primarily as to in-group or out-group participation, though as has been pointed out, the choice, once made, may influence position measured vertically. In the first place, there is choice as to whether the marriages in the family shall be ethnic or non-ethnic. There was only one example of a first generation inter-ethnic mating at the middle class level. In this case the Armenian husband was a rebel against all ethnic associations and carried on his social life outside of his nationality group. His American wife resented the fact that her old friends invited her only to afternoon parties, to protect their husbands from contacts with hers. She therefore cultivated her Armenian relatives and concentrated on making Armenian friends. Inter-marriage, as a result of this situation, did not directly affect the husband's out-group participation. It may, however, have had an indirect effect through giving him a more intimate familiarity with American culture and therefore greater security in the American groups to which he belonged.

It was interesting to get second generation reactions to the question of intermarriage. For the most part, the adolescents and young adults gave whole-hearted allegiance to the American ideal of romantic love, but they were realistic enough to think that it would be much more convenient if they did fall in love with someone from their own group. Few of them seemed to resent the stratagems which their parents used to bring about ethnic mate selection. Some of the young people themselves carried their realism to the point of "dating" only Armenian-Ameri-

cans, hoping thus to ensure that love and cultural homogeneity would go together.

While fate rather than the ethnic couple decides whether there is a grandmother living with them, her presence or absence makes a good deal of difference to the social interaction of the family. If she is in the home, it is necessary for the grandchildren to learn some Armenian, since few women of that generation willingly speak English. She also attracts her own Armenian friends and her friends' children to the house. A large extended family, in the same way, tends to emphasize in-group relationships. Even the children are kept so busy attending family functions that they have relatively little time to cultivate out-group friendships. A young couple may, however, deliberately choose the American pattern of the isolated conjugal family. They usually act by separating themselves ecologically from their family and family friends. Ecological distance is then translated into social distance. Family loyalty is so great among Armenians that it is much more common to find whole groups of families moving to the same neighborhood than to find a single family unit detaching itself from a circle of close relatives. Our field work indicated that inter-marriage and the break-up of the extended family do not as yet represent significant choices to the Armenian-American group.

There is one choice which families do make and which affects vitally their interaction both within and without the home. It is the far-reaching decision as to whether the home shall be parent-centered or child-centered. The parental, or rather the father-dominated, family tends to follow one pattern of social interaction, while the family in which the child's interests are central follows quite a different course. The former type of family tends to stress everything Armenian and to provoke rebellion on the part of the children. Adolescents in particular, as a response to this sort of domestic situation, feel forced to root out from themselves all traces of their Armenian background and to find their friends only among non-Armenians. Some families go to the other extreme. The only

interest that the parents have is the band in which their son plays or their children's musical careers. Their only friends are their children's American friends.

Most families go to neither of the extremes described above. Because there is a balance between the generations, the children know and like a whole circle of older Armenians, while their own non-ethnic friends are equally welcomed by their parents. Sometimes schools tips the balance somewhat to the American side. The parents join the Parent-Teacher's Association and make acquaintances at their own age level with non-ethnics. Acquaintanceship blossoms into friendship and American relations come to replace or at least to dilute the Armenianism of the parents as well as of the children. Still one other type of situation should be noted, in which the parents, though themselves ethnic-bound as to social life, push their children into out-group relations and the American success system. One man who never himself earned more than forty dollars a week and whose social energies have been absorbed in the hard task of making a living, has given each of his four children a college education. One of the four has a medical degree and two others have considerable graduate work already to their credit. The father has devoted his whole life to placing his children in a sector of American society to which he has no entrance. One other case is of interest as illustrating a similar situation. The mother was from the upper class and the father from the lower class in Armenia. There was probably a complex of motives that drove the latter to assert his dominance over the family in the old Armenian style. The mother's allegiance shifted from father to son. She finally left her husband so that she could provide more fully for her son's assimilation into American society. She felt that only if he moved out of the ethnic community, to which his father wanted to keep the family closely attached, could he establish himself securely at the level which she was ambitious for him to attain.

So far as the church is concerned, there is

little choice for the Armenian who came under the influence of Protestant missionaries in Europe except to fit into an American congregation or to give up all church connections. Since assimilation into the general society and upward mobility are interdependent, he has a definite advantage, from the point of view of social climbing, in being thrown at the start into direct relationship with non-ethnics. The adherent to Protestantism before migration often finds that he has other advantages in the competitive struggle for prestige here. He is apt to have more education than is usual for the stratum into which he was born, and an education rather thoroughly permeated by American middle class culture. He has also been taught the ethical rightness of economic success and thus finds it rather easy to move up in the American success system. On the other hand, persons who need the support of an ethnic community during the period of transition from one society to another far different one, find much less in the Protestant church to cushion the shock that accompanies the changing of worlds.

From the point of view of ethnic policy, the Armenian Orthodox church presents a much more interesting picture. The church is still supported by the piety of first generation women and makes few concessions to the American environment. Services three hours long or longer, conducted in a language which even speakers of colloquial Armenian cannot understand, draw steadily only women who have been habituated from childhood to this type of worship. A few young people sing in the choir. Others are attracted occasionally by the music. Discussions of the sort that every ethnic group has carried on, about the Americanization of the church, are already beginning. The same arguments are being repeated that have echoed for at least two centuries against an American background, as to whether religion can survive change in the language through which it is expressed or in its ritualistic forms. It will be interesting to watch the results of the current discussion.

In the meantime, the ethnic is faced with

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three alternatives. Either he can maintain his connection with the church, primarily through the devotion of the older women of his household, or he can take an active part in the leadership of the church, or he can join an American church. If he chooses the first alternative, the church exerts little influence either in raising or depressing his class position. Active leadership in the church may contribute to a position high in the ethnic status system. An occasional lower class man was found to whom that ladder was especially attractive and who took great satisfaction in translating his economic success into prominence in ethnic church affairs. Much more usual, particularly for families that were moving into the upper middle class, was a change in church homes. Since the Armenian community is so small, it can support only two churches, both in lower middle class neighborhoods. Most higher status Armenians now live miles away. They have also taken on the urban American attitude of refusing to go any great distance for regular church services. Leaving the Orthodox church is not difficult for them, since there is a perfectly acceptable substitute in the Episcopalian church. Upper middle class position predisposes the Armenian-American to make this change in his church membership and, once made, the change reinforces his class position. It seems doubtful whether the Orthodox church can hold any large proportion of the highly successful even if it does adapt itself to American culture.

Little can be said about occupational choice among women, for there were too few cases to warrant any generalization. Since woman's place was in the home in Armenia, career women in the ethnic group here have to enter an American occupation. Teaching, social work, nursing and medicine were professions found among the individuals studied. Secretarial work was also attractive, though it does not confer as much prestige as the professions.

As to the men, very few of the older immigrants have any real choice as to their means of earning a livelihood. They have to fit themselves as best they can, into the

American occupational hierarchy, usually fairly near the bottom. An occasional middle class Armenian was able to turn his skills, acquired in Europe, to the support of a position at the same level in the United States. It is the younger immigrants who show the range and limitation in occupational choice. Their best chance of upward mobility seems to them to be tied either with one of the independent professions or a small independent business. One profession is ethnic-bound, that of editor, and is very attractive to men highly educated abroad. Medicine and dentistry seem to be more desirable to the younger men who can afford professional training than teaching or the law. The teacher in particular has to compete with non-ethnics and has to fit into a niche in a non-ethnic hierarchy. All the characteristics that make a first generation Armenian visible, his short darkness in a society that values blond tallness, his accent and his name, count against him in securing a position in the first place and in winning promotions later. There are some very successful Armenian teachers but even the better than average individual hesitates to expose himself to the possibilities of discrimination in this field.

In some ethnic groups law is combined with politics to make a successful career, but the lawyer-politician seems to be rarely found among Armenians. For one thing, the Armenian vote is too small, to give a member of the group much political power. In addition, it is split by violent dissension over Russia and only a very small number of votes are deliverable by any one man. Nor does there seem to be enough ethnic legal business to assure a lawyer a livelihood, while it takes capital and time for an ethnic to establish himself as good enough to handle non-ethnic interests. Medical men have the advantage of being able to depend upon ethnic clients until they make a reputation that draws non-ethnics to their offices. The fact that the doctor or dentist works alone and is always superordinate in relation to his clients, protects him from the discrimination from which teachers sometimes suffer.



So far as business is concerned, it is almost impossible for a first generation ethnic to work up to a middle class position in a large business dominated by non-ethnics. It is relatively easy for an industrious and capable man to accumulate or to borrow enough capital to set up a small business and to expand it by hard work into a larger one. Armenians have made peculiarly their own the business of importing and selling Oriental rugs. They bid fair to monopolize, at least in the Boston area, the business of photo-engraving and the dealing in camera supplies. Otherwise there seems to be no particular ethnic slant to the specialties which they either manufacture or sell. The business man has one other type of choice, beside that of the commodity which he handles. He may hire only ethnic employees, so that his intimate contacts in business as at home are only with his own group, or he may disregard ethnic lines in his hiring policies and, by personalizing his business dealings, turn his non-ethnic suppliers and customers into friends.

As Davis and Gardner have clearly brought out, class position is manifested and confirmed by clique membership.<sup>1</sup> Movement into non-ethnic intimacy systems at the upper middle or upper class level is the most difficult step for the ethnic to take. Even for the second generation, the establishment of clique relationships which hold past graduation from high school is often impossible. One avenue leading toward such relationships, is through moving into an upper class neighborhood and gaining a foothold as a neighbor. The Armenian group is small enough so that there is not the same resistance to ecological dispersion that larger groups often encounter. But some of our informants had not been able to buy or rent in the area of their choice because of objections by other homeowners. Another avenue into a desired clique system is through membership in the informal structure of a non-

ethnic church or through making friends of the people with whom one's work throws one in contact. A much surer basis for intimacy, if it can be found, is in some common interest. Some Armenians with their marked musical ability, have found close friends among musicians. One informant had only two interests in life, his business and a small clique of well known literary lights.

Formal associations have been the American substitute for the settled society of older nations. The importance of this cultural form in the United States was first clearly recognized by De Tocqueville.<sup>2</sup> For ethnics the significance was pointed out by Thomas and Znaniecki<sup>3</sup> and underlined by Warner and Srole.<sup>4</sup> Two functions of such associations should be noted. The first is the part played by ethnic associations in preparing their members to participate in middle class society. The second is the part played by non-ethnic associations in facilitating the movement of selected individuals from the ethnic subsystem into the larger community.

It was not possible to make a complete survey of all Armenian-American organizations. Some of them are regional in character, bringing together people who have migrated from the same corner of the Old World and cushioning somewhat the impact of an alien environment upon the personality. This type seems relatively less important among Armenians than in some other ethnic groups. Others are political and oriented today toward Russia, being either pro- or anti-Soviet. Armenians of the older generation have lived either under the Russian government or in the provinces whose cession Russia is demanding from Turkey, and by reason of personal experience feel strongly about that country. While their opinions will

<sup>1</sup> De Tocqueville, Alexis, *Democracy in America*, John Allyn, Boston, fifth edition, 1873, vol. 1, ch. 12; vol. 2, bk. 2, ch. 5, 7.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas, William I. and Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1927, pt. III, ch. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Warner, W. Lloyd and Leo Srole, *The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945, ch. 9.

<sup>4</sup> Davis, Allison, Burleigh B. Gardner and Mary R. Gardner, *Deep South, A Social Anthropological Study of Caste and Class*, University of Chicago Press, 1941, especially ch. 7.

probably not affect American foreign policy to any marked extent, the organizations which they form to express those opinions, are training them in American political folkways. Some of our informants felt that they had completed their Americanization, because their opinions in regard to Russia were essentially American, having been formed not from memories of European life nor from connections with family members living under the Russians or the Turks, but through reading American newspapers and listening to other Americans talk.

Some of the most interesting organizations are those set up either for charity to ethnics unsuccessful here or for relief abroad. They are composed of older women, who can in this way practice without embarrassment American associational forms. Since the beginning of the "late" war, bundles for foreign countries have become one of our new folkways. If we heard our informants correctly, they have experienced, as they packed boxes for Armenians in Europe, a keen and vivid sense that they are now Americans.

In the last three or four years, there has been a proliferation of junior branches attached to the various charitable and relief organizations. On examination the purpose of these groups seemed to be to give dances to make money for the senior organizations. But their chief function, from the point of view of the older generation which sponsored them, appears to be as mating agencies. Parents prefer that their children marry within the ethnic group, but that can happen only if they know eligible young people of the opposite sex. It is truly an American answer to this problem, to form organizations through which young people can become acquainted. The branches are age-graded, so that each age group mixes only with their potential mates. The young people seem to be tolerant of such parental attitudes and desires. Some of them, who have been isolated from the ethnic group, even welcome the chance to come to know members of their own generation who have been brought

up in the ethnic community. What the church did for the first generation youth in providing a common meeting ground, formal organizations are doing for their children and grandchildren.

Non-ethnic associations have furnished entry for ethnics into full participation in American society. For men there are professional, business and fraternal organizations. Some of them are great joiners and are very proud of being Rotarians and Masons and wearing a dozen other labels. For upper middle class women there are a variety of clubs. Civic organizations often make a point of having members representative of every minority group in the community. Our informants were very careful, however, not to stand for membership in organizations in which they might be blackballed. Exclusive country clubs are illustrative of the type of association that upper middle class families would like to join but avoid from fear of discrimination.

There is no fixed pattern according to which unit social systems are chosen from these five groups and combined by the individual to support his upward mobility. Field work in subsequent years will be designed to uncover possible combinations and the conditions under which one is chosen rather than another. So far the work has been directed toward a critical evaluation of Child's analysis of somewhat the same problem.<sup>5</sup> In comparing the two studies, it must be kept in mind that Child was dealing only with second generation adolescents, while among our informants were more adults than adolescents, and first as well as second generation individuals. It is also true that Child was more interested in applying the Yale theory of social learning to reality situations than in working out an adequate analysis of the patterning of social participation among ethnics. One difficulty in the Child analysis is that it confuses the facts of participation with the attitudes associated with participa-

<sup>5</sup> Child, Irvin L., *Italian or American? The Second Generation in Conflict*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1943, ch. 4-6.

tion. Of his three categories, in-group, rebel and apathetic, the first is descriptive of participation, the last two of attitudes. We found two dimensions necessary to take care of the two types of variables.

To classify the social participation of our informants, we used four polar categories, non-participation, dominantly in-group participation, dominantly out-group participation, and participation in both groups with or without discrimination. Our study of participation was still further limited to that which bore some relation to middle class position. We came across no individuals who were participating fully in lower class culture and society and who therefore had neither time nor inclination for middle class participation. As was indicated at the beginning of the paper, a very few informants were able to establish themselves in the upper class in the United States and had no reason to mix in middle class society. Their cases are ruled out by definition from this study. Of real non-participants in middle class society, we found two types. One was the individual, or family, who had been upper class in Europe but who was not acceptable to upper class Americans. Since there is no distinctively Armenian-American upper class, the choice for persons of this type is either participation at the middle class level or non-participation. To these particular individuals, the Armenian-American middle class was composed of peasants with whom social relations were intolerable. They therefore chose social isolation rather than downward movement in the social structure. The second type was composed of persons who would have welcomed middle class participation but were too disadvantageously placed and too socially inept to take part in American or even Armenian-American society. To neither of these types is Child's label, apathetic, which he applies to non-participants, applicable.

Among the in-group participants, both husband and wife are Armenian by descent and usually also by birth. They generally have family members in the Boston area to whom they are closely tied. The wife attends

the Armenian Orthodox church, usually fairly regularly. She belongs also to some of the Armenian charitable societies. The husband may or may not be a pillar of the church. He either has a business of his own, in which he employs chiefly Armenians, or he is a professional man with an Armenian clientele. The close friends of the older generation are Armenian, and the children are encouraged to join one of the new youth organizations and, if they can sing, the church choir. They have acquired a good many American middle class status symbols: a nice house in a good neighborhood, furnished according to American taste, though sometimes that of the new entrant into that class; an automobile, its make affected by the fact that we have not yet emerged from the war period. Their recreation consists largely in visiting and entertaining visitors, all within the Armenian group. The children, or at least the boys, are slated to have as much education as they will take.

In-groupness grows largely out of usage. Children are born into a given ethnic group and its members seem most familiar and therefore most attractive in appearance and manners. For many persons, there is really no conscious choice involved, other than the negative choice of not choosing. In some cases, however, there is a definite preference for the Armenian-American as against the American way of life. One finds pride in the past, pleasure in the present and nostalgia at the thought of a future in which Armenianism will be completely merged with Americanism. Other individuals make use of their ethnic connections in earning their living or satisfy their social ambitions by rising in a system less competitive than that of the general community. Fear of an alien society, rather than self interest, keeps still others within the ethnic group. Security is not so highly prized among Armenians as, for example, by South Italians, but there is fear of discrimination even among Armenians who have attained very high status.

Out-group participants tend to have been born in this country or at least to have been very young at the time of migration. They

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have had their education in American schools, here or abroad. They live at some distance from other Armenians. They are members of an American Protestant church or are not church-goers at all. Both husband and wife belong to non-ethnic organizations. If they are second generation, they have American friends. Otherwise they have few intimates. The children have no relation with Armenians except those in their immediate family circle. The men in business surround themselves with American employees and cater to an American public. They substitute absorption in business for the friendly visiting of the in-groupers. The successful professional men want to associate only with colleagues of like standing, and the fact that they are not Armenian is inconsequential. It is worth noting that men of this type are often race heroes to the ethnic group, though they maintain very few contacts with its members.

Among these out-group participants were some individuals who could be placed in Child's category of rebel. Rebellion tends to be a temporary adolescent response to the dominance of parents who are ethnic-bound. An occasional individual, suffering from more than ordinary frustration during childhood, carried this adolescent attitude over into adulthood, refusing to marry and limiting his contacts to a few non-ethnics to whom he was passionately attached. But most of the out-groupers are not rebels. Just as self interest keeps some persons within the ethnic community, self interest draws others out of the group. Their abilities can be used only incompletely or not at all by fellow ethnics, and are rewarded much more highly by non-ethnics. To some Armenians out-group participation seems the normal result of upward mobility. There are too few upper middle class Armenians to constitute a separate status group. One can manifest position in that stratum only through out-group membership. The melting pot theory of American culture is generally accepted among Armenians, even by those who regret the passing of their traditional culture. To many of them, it is only proper to leave the ethnic

community and to mingle as individuals in the general stream of American life. There tended to be no guilt among out-group participants over their desertion of their fellow ethnics but rather pride that they absorbed so completely the spirit of Americanism.

More usual among our informants than any one of the three patterns of social participation already discussed, was that of participation in both in- and out-groups. Sometimes it was with discrimination. The family and intimate friends were all Armenian. The whole family might have membership in the Orthodox church, or the members might split among more than one denomination. In business or professional life there was a balance between Americanism and Armenianism. A definite effort was made to belong to both ethnic and non-ethnic organizations. Discrimination was for the most part limited to the home where only Armenians were welcomed. In many families, however, the children were free to bring their non-ethnic friends home, so that there was balance even within the domestic circle. An interesting recent development is the "return to Armenianism" already referred to, on the part of second generation young people brought up entirely in out-group society. Some of them are taking an active part in youth organizations and an alert interest in the future of the Orthodox church. If the Armenian community is to be kept distinct for any length of time, it will be necessary to remodel that church, which is the repository of the race's historical culture, to serve as the core of a continuing society.

As to ethnic policy, the Americanization movement which came into prominence at the end of the first World War, eventually sank into disrepute. Ethnic social systems are too useful during the early stages of immigration to be obliterated as rapidly as that movement urged. Today the tendency is to go to the other extreme and to insist that minority groups maintain their separate identity. There seems to be no good reason why ethnics who wish to remain segregated should not be permitted that choice, but those who wish to lose their "ethnicness" and

become full-fledged American citizens should be encouraged rather than blocked in doing so. Rather than taking an either-or position, it is an advantage in a social democracy to have as many climbing systems as possible, in order to increase the number of positions

at the top. The range of choice offered by a society in which a good many patterns of status achievement are provided, has seemed to be an important factor in the relatively easy adjustment of Armenians to life in the United States.

## THE SPREAD OF GERMAN NAZISM IN RURAL AREAS

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THE United States Strategic Bombing Survey has not only led to important and interesting data for the military, but the special findings<sup>1</sup> of the Morale Division of this Survey, which interviewed thousands of persons in town and countryside, have also shed further light on the relationship between political and ideological systems on one side and certain social and economic structures and conditions on the other.

As was to be expected, the Morale Division found that the war-supporting morale of the individual civilian was, other things being equal, lower among non-Nazis than among Nazis, and especially low among those who belonged either to large-scale organizations with a different and opposing ideological basis like the Communists and Catholics. As a matter of fact the war-supporting morale was lowest among this latter group, the Roman Catholics. The war-supporting morale of all civilian groups was reduced by bombardment but for similar bombing experiences Nazis registered higher morale than non-Nazis as measured in terms of willingness to accept unconditional surrender, absenteeism in industry, loss of faith in leaders, belief that one's own group or class was getting the worst of it and such general conditions as defeatism, fear, hopelessness, fatalism and war weariness. Moreover, the more tenaciously the Nazi doctrines were

espoused and the higher the position held in the Nazi hierarchy, the higher the war-supporting morale of respondents. This proved true for both indices of Nazism used; namely, the party affiliation of the interviewee and the investigator's rating of the respondent's attitudes and position with respect to Nazism. On the other hand, the greater the individual's loyalty to his church, as reflected by general church attendance and participation in religious activities, the lower the war-supporting morale.

Another interesting result of the Survey is the fact that when various types of communities sampled are compared, the rural areas manifest the highest war-supporting morale.<sup>2</sup> This finding corresponds to the fact that immediately before Hitler came to power the rural areas were relatively more Nazi in political affiliation than similar urban areas. As Heberle<sup>3</sup> has pointed out in his study of political parties in Schleswig-Holstein, the Nazi party originated in the cities, but it spread out into rural areas in the late twenties after Hitler returned to political life from his confinement following the Munich Putsch and reorganized the party. While the growth of the Nazi party was checked in the cities by a firm block of Social Democratic and Communistic labor votes, Nazism continued to grow in many rural Protestant communities until practically all

<sup>1</sup> These findings are based upon nearly 4,000 interviews taken from some 34 cities and communities with varying bombing experience, size and cultural characteristics.

<sup>2</sup> Friedrich, Carl J., "The Agricultural Basis of Emotional Nationalism," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 50ff. (1937).

<sup>3</sup> Heberle, Rudolf, *From Democracy to Nazism*, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1945, p. 21.

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eligible persons voted the Nazi ticket. This movement, especially in its earlier phases had some of the characteristics of America's "green risings" or farmers' movements.<sup>4</sup> Now that the true nature of Nazism has been revealed, it is difficult to believe that such support was attained among the "sober-minded and freedom-loving north Germans who were not at all accustomed to a tradition of authoritarian government."<sup>5</sup>

That the Nazis should have been welcomed in the rural areas to the north such as Dithmarschen and Eiderstedt calls for further investigation. How can it be explained that such areas, which were noted for having fought off attempted feudalistic and/or bureaucratic control in the past, were swept into the Nazi "straight-jacket" form of control?

An explanation of this development of the Nazi movement in rural districts can be found by an analysis of the economic and social structure and situation of the rural population in some sections of Germany of which one, Schleswig-Holstein, is almost entirely Protestant, the second, Hannover, has certain Catholic elements and the third, Bavaria, has a Catholic majority. The economic and social situation found in these districts is reflected in the behavior of the population at the polls on the occasion of the elections for the Reichstag between 1920 and 1932. In our study the following working hypotheses have been developed for analysis: (1) Elements of Nazism became entrenched among those rural, middle-class-controlled areas whose residents were suffering most acutely from economic insecurity and anxiety accompanying loss of social solidarity; (2) individuals with limited experience and obligations as active members of dynamic large-

scale political or religious social structures were more prone to become Nazis than others; and (3) during the periods of rapid change, Nazism made its greatest inroads into the groups whose basic value orientation and organizational experience had been of a *Gemeinschaft*,<sup>6</sup> primary, folk,<sup>7</sup> or familistic nature and whose formal, contractual, bureaucratic obligations and affiliations had been insignificant. Due to their feelings of insecurity, frustration, and longing for the good old days, which resulted from secularization and depression, these groups were more apt to become Nazis than other groups.

# I

*Nazism, Farmers' Movements, and Acute Economic Insecurity.* Northeast Germany is especially fitted to furnish data which may be used to test the first hypothesis. Heberle's<sup>8</sup> findings for Schleswig-Holstein support it, and the present analysis for the Province of Hannover further substantiates it. The Protestant communities within the *Geest* parts of the Norther German pasture type

<sup>6</sup>F. Toennies, *Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft*, translated and edited by Charles P. Loomis as *Fundamental Concepts of Sociology*, New York: American Book Company, 1940.

<sup>7</sup>Robert Redfield, "The Folk Society and Culture," *The American Journal of Sociology*, 45 (1940), pp. 731-742. See also, Robert Redfield, *Tepoztlán, A Mexican Village*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930.

<sup>8</sup>*Op. cit.*, Heberle's description of political parties follows: NSDAP: *National-sozialistische Deutsche Arbeiter Partei* (National Socialists German Labor Party) or "Nazis." DNVP: *Deutschnationale Volkspartei* (German National People's Party) or "Right Conservatives." DVP: *Deutsche Volkspartei* (German Peoples Party) or "Right Liberals." DDP: *Deutsche Demokratische Partei* (German Democratic Party) or "Democrats," this party later on changed its name to *Staatspartei*. SPD: *Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands* (Social Democratic Party of Germany) or "Social Democrats." USPD: *Unabhängige Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands* (Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany). KPD: *Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands* (Communist Party of Germany) or "Communists." The last three parties are also referred to in the text as "Labor" or "Socialist" or "Marxist" parties, p. 92. See also Wilhelm Dittman, *Das Politische Deutschland vor Hitler* (Zuerich, New York: Verlag).

<sup>4</sup>W. B. Bizzell, *The Green Rising*, New York: Macmillan Co., 1926, p. 304. J. Periam, *The Groundswell*, Cincinnati: Hannaford & Co., 1874; John B. Holt, *German Agricultural Policy, 1918-1934* (Chapel Hill: University of N.C. Press, 1936). Chs. 17 and 19; Charles P. Loomis, *Studies of Rural Social Organization in the United States, Latin America, and Germany*, East Lansing, Michigan State College, 1945, Chs. 1 and 6.

<sup>5</sup>Heberle, *op. cit.*, p. vi.



of farming areas<sup>9</sup> voted solidly for the Nazi party in the last free elections of 1932. This was true in both Schleswig-Holstein and Hannover. In fact, few areas in the Reich brought the Nazi party such large majorities as did the *Geest* and the *Lueneburger-Heide*

*Geest* derives considerable cash from side-lines such as dairy and poultry, the farmers of all such areas are dependent upon the sale of cattle to be fattened elsewhere. Germany's lowest land values prevail in the *Lueneburger-Heide*. Dairy farming and hog

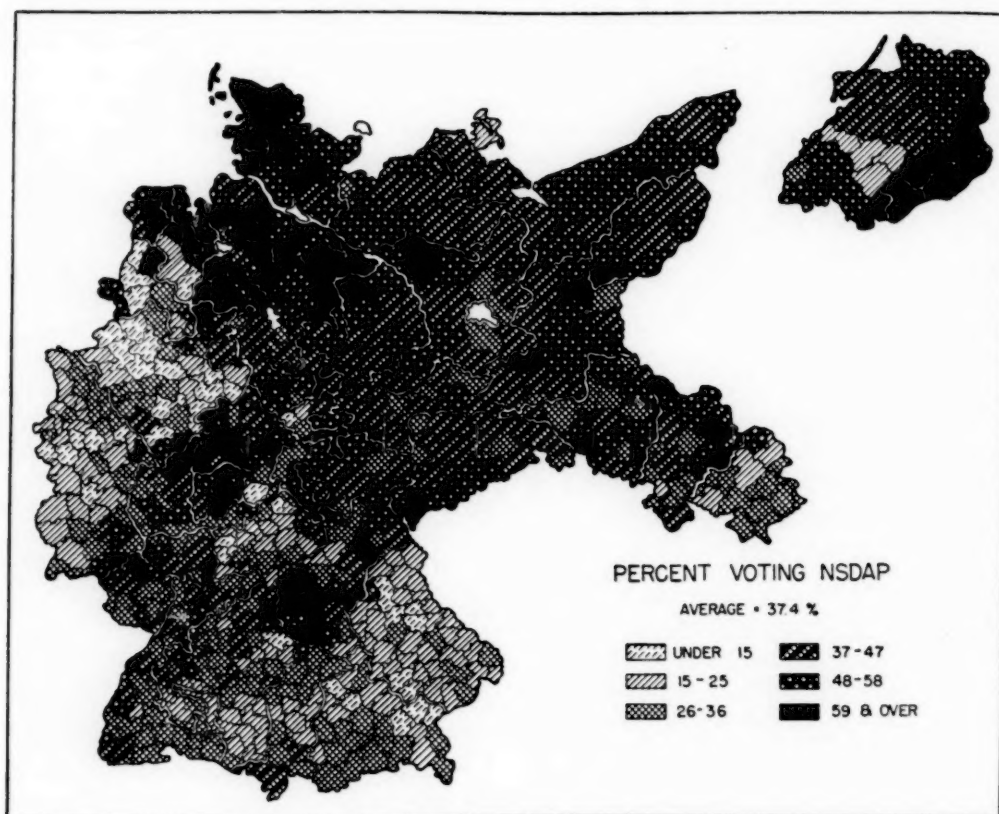


FIGURE 1. Distribution of Nazi voting for rural areas July 1932 with Stadtkreise removed. Note the concentration of heavy Nazi voting in Schleswig-Holstein, Hannover, Franconia, Hessen, and Southern East Prussia. Nazi voting in Catholic areas was light.

areas of Schleswig-Holstein and Hannover.

In both the *Geest* and *Heide* areas the family-sized farm prevails. Except under favorable conditions, farming is marginal because of poor, sandy soils. In the *Heide* areas less than half of the land is tilled or pastured. Although the family farm economy of the

fattening is prominent both in southern Schleswig-Holstein and in those parts of the *Lueneburger-Heide* which are close enough to Hamburg or Bremen to buy imported feed and to sell produce. Hannover also provides a market for these products. Although other cash crops are grown, the farmers of these areas are highly dependent upon the fluctuations of the market. Socially, the *Geest* and the *Lueneburger-Heide* areas are not only less stratified than the areas to the east, but

<sup>9</sup> See Max Sering, et al, *Deutsche Agrarpolitik auf Geschichtlicher und Landeskundlicher Grundlage* (Leipzig: Hans Buske, 1934). Prepared for the International Conference of Agricultural Economists.

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also less stratified than parts of the west where large estates with hired labor prevail. Although the *Geest* and *Heide* farmers have recently become dependent upon the market, they are more peasant-minded<sup>10</sup> in that they possess little of the spirit of the bourgeois entrepreneur.

Relatively low land values, middle-sized family farms, and marginal agriculture characterize the one rural area in Bavaria where an exceptionally large proportion of the vote was cast for the Nazi party in July, 1932. (Figure 1). This area, a Protestant section including Franconia to the west of Nuernberg, contains the *Kreise* Uffenheim (81 per cent Nazi), Rothenburg (83 per cent Nazi), Neustadt (79 per cent Nazi), Ansbach (76 per cent Nazi), Dinkelsbühl (71 per cent Nazi), and Gunzenhausen (72 per cent Nazi). The Nazis received no such large votes in the Catholic areas of Bavaria in 1932.

Toennies would call the villages of these peasant family type of farming areas *Gemeinschaft-like* to distinguish them from the *Gesellschaft-like* communities where large commercial farms and estates prevail. These areas are similar to many of the marginal farming areas in the United States. Investigation may prove that some of the same factors which have resulted in the rapid growth of various emotional, religious sects in American marginal farming areas during the depression were also at work in the spread of Nazism in Germany.<sup>11</sup> People from these areas and from similar social classes in the cities of the United States play a major role in organizing the emotional sects as a counter-agent to *anomie*. The change from a familistic or *Gemeinschaft-like* culture to the

more atomized impersonal relationships brought about by rapid commercialization and the migration into urban areas, apparently prompts the growth of such organizations.<sup>12</sup>

The high proportion of Nazi votes and various uprisings in the *Geest* and *Heide* areas of Schleswig-Holstein and Hannover indicate that economic insecurity was an important contributing element to the growth of Nazism. Throughout the late twenties and early thirties fluctuations in cattle and hog prices caused great hardship. Foreclosures increased throughout these regions. The farmers, accustomed to an ownership and inheritance system which kept the farms in the family for many generations, attempted to stop forced sales by means of demonstrations and out-right violence. The Nazis were able to utilize this situation to advantage. Again, one is reminded of the Holiday and similar movements in some areas of the United States.<sup>13</sup> These phenomena also merit discussion in connection with the third hypothesis, namely, that groups with primary, *Gemeinschaft*, or folk orientation and limited experience in the secondary, *Gesellschaft* relationships, when not held by organic religious ties, were more apt under stress to join the Nazi party. Such rural groups seemed to suffer more than other groups from frustration and *anomie* when thrown suddenly into economic crises. This is probably true because loss of solidarity of the *Gemeinschaft*, familistic, primary, or folk type of groups is more difficult to adjust to or regain than loss of solidarity in other less stable groups. Furthermore, they had little

<sup>12</sup> Theodore Sprague, "Some problems in the Integration of Social Groups, with Special Reference to Jehovah's Witnesses" (Harvard Ph.D. Thesis, 1942).

<sup>13</sup> For a discussion of the tendency for American farmers' organizations to mushroom during eras of depression and the whole matter of the farmers' attempt to adjust to the price and market regime through organizations, see Carl C. Taylor, *Rural Sociology* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1933), Ch. 28. Also see C. P. Loomis, "The Rise and Decline of the North Carolina Farmers' Union," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, VII (1930), pp. 305-325, 443-462.

<sup>10</sup> Heberle, *op. cit.*, p. 39. See a brief description of the mentality of the Schleswig-Holstein farmer of the *Geest*.

<sup>11</sup> John B. Holt, "Holiness Religion: Cultural Shock and Social Reorganization," *American Sociological Review*, V (1940), 740-747. See Talcott Parsons, "Democracy and Social Structure in Pre-Hitler Germany," *Journal of Legal and Political Sociology*, I (1942) for a discussion of the importance of rationalization and secularization in Germany.

TABLE I. PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL VALID VOTES OBTAINED BY SPECIFIED PARTIES<sup>1</sup> IN SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN, HANNOVER,<sup>2</sup> BAVARIA,<sup>3</sup> AND THE REICH IN 1920, 1924, 1928, 1930, 1932

Election Year and Area	Party								
	Nazis		Socialists		Conserv- atives	-Liberals		Catholic Land- Parties Volk*	Other Parties
	NSDAP	SPD	USPD	KPD	DNVP	DDP	DVP	Z & BVP	
1920									
Reich		21.6	18.8	1.7	14.4	8.5	13.9	19.6	1.5
Schles.-Hol.		37.3	3.0	6.1	20.5	9.4	18.4	.8	4.5
Hannover		24.6	16.3	.9	6.9	7.7	19.4	24.0	.2
Bavaria		16.4	13.0	2.0	7.0	8.1	10.5	38.9	4.1
1924 (July)									
Reich	2.6	20.5	.8	12.6	19.5	5.7	9.2	16.6	12.5
Schles.-Hol.	7.4	24.9	—	10.2	31.0	8.1	12.1	1.0	5.3
Hannover	4.3	25.2	.6	8.0	15.3	5.5	12.3	8.3	20.5
Bavaria	6.4	17.7	.5	8.0	9.5	3.0	2.7	35.2	17.0
1924 (December)									
Reich	3.0	26.0	.3	9.0	20.5	6.3	10.1	16.1	8.7
Schles.-Hol.	2.7	30.3	—	6.7	33.0	8.7	14.6	1.1	2.9
Hannover	4.1	30.7	.2	4.6	17.9	6.3	14.8	9.0	12.4
Bavaria	5.1	21.1	.4	5.1	14.4	3.8	4.3	34.6	11.2
1928									
Reich	2.6	29.8		10.6	14.2	4.9	8.7	15.2	11.1
Schles.-Hol.	4.0	35.3		7.9	23.0	5.7	13.7	1.1	9.0
Hannover	4.3	37.6		4.5	9.3	4.9	12.2	7.7	7.4
Bavaria	6.4	24.4		3.8	10.0	3.1	3.8	31.1	17.4
1930									
Reich	18.3	24.5		13.1	7.0	3.8	4.5	15.7	9.9
Schles.-Hol.	27.0	29.8		10.6	6.1	4.7	7.3	1.0	9.7
Hannover	22.3	32.1		6.2	6.3	3.5	6.9	8.3	12.4
Bavaria	17.9	20.9		5.9	2.0	1.8	1.9	31.1	14.2
1932 (July)									
Reich	37.3	21.6		14.3	5.9	1.0	1.2	15.7	2.7
Schles.-Hol.	51.0	26.2		10.7	6.5	1.4	1.4	1.2	1.6
Hannover	44.9	23.6		8.0	8.2	1.1	1.7	8.4	3.9
Bavaria	32.9	17.1		8.3	3.1	.5	.9	32.3	4.9

\* A small farmers' party with conservative leanings.

<sup>1</sup> Description of political parties is as follows: NSDAP: *Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiter Partei* (National Socialist German Labor Party) or "Nazis." DNVP: *Deutschnationale Volkspartei* (German People's Party) or "Conservatives." DVP: *Deutsche Volkspartei* (German Peoples Party) or "Right Liberals." DDP: *Deutsche Demokratische Partei* (German Democratic Party) or "Democrats," this party later changed its name to *Staatspartei*. SPD: *Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands* (Social Democratic Party of Germany) or "Social Democrats." USPD: *Unabh ngige Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands* (Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany). KPD: *Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands* (Communist Party of Germany) or "Communists." The last three parties are also referred to in the text as "Labor" or "Socialist" or "Marxist" parties. Heberle, *op. cit.*, Catholic Parties include Z: *Zentrum* (Center Party) and BVP: *Bayerische Volks Partei* (Bavarian Peoples' Party).

<sup>2</sup> Hannover taken to include Wahlkreis 16, 17, and 18 in 1920 (Weser-Ems, Osthannover, S dhannover-Braunschweig) and Wahlkreis 14, 15, and 16, in other years. Numbering systems vary for different years but the same areas are included for the different years.

<sup>3</sup> Bavaria taken to include Wahlkreis 27, 28, 29, and 30 in 1920 (Oberbayern-Schwaben, Niederbayern-Oberpfalz, Franken, and Pfalz) and Wahlkreis 24, 25, 26, and 27 in other years. Numbering systems vary for different years but the same areas are included for the different years.



past experience in attempting to attain security through secondary or *Gesellschaft-like*, special interest organization.

Much has been written about the basic insecurity of the middle class,<sup>14</sup> and the im-

analyses of voting have demonstrated that the areas of Schleswig-Holstein<sup>16</sup> in which middle-sized family farms prevailed were the ones in which the proportions of Nazi votes were highest. The same holds true for

TABLE II. CORRELATIONS BETWEEN PERCENTAGES OF VOTES OBTAINED BY PARTIES IN MINOR CIVIL DIVISION (CITIES OF 10,000 OR MORE ARE EXCLUDED) WITH PERCENTAGES OF POPULATION IN SPECIFIED SOCIO-ECONOMIC CLASSES (BERUFSZUGEHÖRIGE) IN SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN,<sup>1</sup> HANNOVER,<sup>2</sup> AND BAVARIA,<sup>3</sup> BY MAJOR INDUSTRIAL DIVISIONS

Socio-Economic Classes <sup>4</sup>												
Party Vote and Area	Year	No. of Minor Civil Div. Used	Agriculture, Forestry & Fishery				Industry and Handicraft			All Divisions		
			Proprietors (a)	(a+m)	Wage Earners (c)	$\frac{b+c}{a}$	Proprietors (a)	Wage Earners (c)	$\frac{b+c}{a}$	Proprietors (a)	Wage Earners (c)	$\frac{b+c}{a}$
SOCIALISTS												
Schles.-Hol.	1932	18	-.79	-.78	.77	.77	-.84	.82	.84	-.94	.88	.94
Hannover	1932	59	-.37	-.39	.47	.21	-.65	.86	.67	-.58	.82	.79
Bavaria	1932	87	-.28	-.31	.27	.43	-.76	.71	.70	-.69	.66	.67
Hannover	1924	59	-.57	-.52	.47	.35	-.79	.81	.72	-.76	.82	.83
Bavaria	1924	89	-.35	-.30	.24	.47	-.80	.74	.76	-.66	.72	.78
Schleswig.-H.	1921	18	-.84	-.88	.86	.85	-.68	.65	.68	-.93	.95	.93
Hannover	1920	59	-.58	-.54	.49	.33	-.75	.76	.67	-.73	.80	.82
Bavaria	1920	89	-.44	-.42	.36	.61	-.73	.68	.69	-.66	.76	.78
NAZIS												
Schleswig.-H.	1932	18	.76	.79	-.78	-.76	.71	-.69	-.70	.83	-.79	-.69
Hannover	1932	59	.28	.39	-.40	-.32	.66	-.65	-.72	.58	-.69	-.51
Bavaria	1932	87	-.16	-.07	.01	.32	-.01	-.01	-.09	-.10	-.08	.20
Hannover	1924	59	.14	.07	-.05	-.09	.46	-.50	-.42	.31	-.28	-.26
Bavaria	1924	89	-.37	-.32	.27	.47	-.27	+.25	.22	-.36	.34	.44

<sup>1,2</sup> and <sup>3</sup> See Table I, footnotes 2, and 3.

<sup>4</sup> a Proprietors

b Salaried employees.

m Family members employed on farm.

$\frac{b+c}{a}$  Ratio of all employees to proprietors.

c Wage Earners.

portance of the lower and upper-middle classes in the Nazi movement has been demonstrated by many writers.<sup>15</sup> Statistical

<sup>14</sup> Svend, Ranulf, *Moral Indignation and Middle Class Psychology* (Copenhagen, 1937).

<sup>15</sup> Ernest M. Doblin and Claire Pohly, "The Social Composition of the Nazi Leadership," *The American Journal of Sociology* LI (1945), pp. 42-49 and Hans Gerth, "The Nazi Party": Its Leadership

the Province of Hannover. In the Schleswig-Holstein *Geest*, there existed a violent fluctu-

and Composition," *The American Journal of Sociology*, XLV (1940). For rural areas, Heberle's work is the most specific and factual discussion, *op. cit.*

<sup>16</sup> Heberle, *op. cit.* See Heberle's description of German classes and their political alignments as given in Chapter 3. See especially pp. 38-40.

ation in voting behavior. In 1919 the liberal parties received 65 per cent of the votes; in 1924, the conservatives received 50 per cent, and in 1932, the Nazis obtained almost 80 per cent of the votes.<sup>17</sup> The fluctuations for the Hannover *Heide* follows this pattern but they were not as violent, and the Socialists received a larger proportion of the votes.

Nazi period as indicated in Table I. The Catholic parties also remained relatively stable. The increasing number of Nazi votes came from the shrinking of the middle liberal parties, the radicalization of the parties of the right, and the recruitment of voters who had previously not voted. Table II gives ample evidence to prove that throughout the

TABLE III. CORRELATIONS BETWEEN PERCENTAGES OF VOTES OBTAINED BY PARTIES IN MINOR CIVIL DIVISIONS (CITIES OF 10,000 OR MORE EXCLUDED), WITH PERCENTAGES OF FARMS WHICH ARE OF VARYING SIZE IN SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN,<sup>1</sup> HANNOVER,<sup>2</sup> AND BAVARIA,<sup>3</sup> 1932.

Percent of Party <sup>4</sup> Vote and Area	Percentage of Farms of Varying Size				
	Under 2 Ha	2-20 Ha	20-100 Ha	100 & Over & Under 2 Ha <sup>5</sup>	100 & Over Ha
Socialists					
Schleswig-Holstein		-.80	-.40	.83	
Hannover	.65	-.60	-.48	.63	-.23
Bavaria	.53	-.40	.13	.55	.20
Nazis					
Schleswig-Holstein		.85	.49	-.89	—
Hannover	-.55	.51	.34	-.54	-.01
Bavaria	-.17	.21	-.20	-.11	.22

<sup>1</sup> Data for Schleswig-Holstein from Heberle, *op. cit.*, p. 114. Professor Heberle used the percentage of all agricultural workers gainfully occupied that were engaged on farms of a specific size. The correlation therefore, is not strictly comparable.

<sup>2</sup> Catholic Minor Civil Divisions not used in the analysis. 38 Kreise used. See Table I, footnote 2.

<sup>3</sup> Protestant Minor Civil Divisions not used in the analysis. 87 Kreise used. See Table I, footnote 3.

<sup>4</sup> See footnote I of Table I.

<sup>5</sup> To test the hypothesis that areas where tiny holdings on the one hand and large estates on the other predominate (and middle-sized holdings were in the minority) the proportions of which holdings under 2 *Hektar* and 100 *Hektar* and over are added together.

As Heberle indicated, the voters, residing in a family-farm areas such as the *Heide*, are less class-bound than the voters of cities or areas characterized by large estates and the presence of large numbers of laborers. Business cycles may be accompanied by violent shifts from left to right in voting behavior, and hopes of assistance such as were promised to the farmers by the Nazis may be considered more important than the bed-fellows which voting for them brings.

The various leftist groups, the Marxist Socialist, Communist, and Labor parties, held their own remarkably well during the pre-

rural areas in Hannover, the laboring classes consistently voted for the Socialist parties. On the other hand, areas in which the middle classes prevailed (as indicated by proportions of the population which were proprietors, and by the ratio of proprietors to laborers and salaried employees) gave increasingly larger votes to the Nazis as the economic and social crises settled on Germany. This tendency was most pronounced in marginal family-sized farming areas such as the *Geest* and *Heide*.

Correlation coefficients in Table III indicate significant relationships between the proportion of votes cast for the Nazis in July, 1932, and the proportion of family-sized

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 99.

farms which were from 2 to 20 and from 20 to 100 *Hektar* in area. These coefficients also indicate significant relationships between the proportion of votes cast for leftist parties and the proportion of holdings which were less than two *Hektar*. Since most of these small holdings either furnish a labor supply for the large estates or are industrial laborers who are part-time farmers, correlations were

proportions of holdings over one hundred *Hektar* and proportions of votes cast for various parties are weak in all instances.

## II

The second proposition, that groups or individuals lacking active participation in large-scale, dynamic political and religious organizations were predisposed to become

TABLE IV. CORRELATIONS BETWEEN PERCENTAGES OF VOTES OBTAINED BY SPECIFIED PARTIES AND PERCENTAGES OF CATHOLICS IN THE POPULATION OF THE REICH, HANNOVER AND BAVARIA FOR SELECTED YEARS

Party and Year <sup>1</sup>	Area				
	Reich <sup>2</sup>	Hannover		Bavaria	
		All <sup>3</sup>	Protestant Portion <sup>4</sup>	All <sup>5</sup>	Catholic Portion <sup>6</sup>
NSDAP					
1932	-.72	-.89	-.75	-.90	-.61
1924	—	—	-.23	—	-.44
Socialist					
1932	-.68	-.39	-.03	-.29	-.01
1924	—	—	-.11	—	-.66
1920	—	—	-.13	—	-.25

<sup>1</sup> See footnote 1, Table I.

<sup>2</sup> Coefficients for the Reich are based not upon the Kreise as are those for the Provinces, but upon 52 larger divisions.

<sup>3</sup> See footnote 2, Table I. 47 Kreise used.

<sup>4</sup> Includes Minor civil divisions in Reg. Bez. Aurich, Lueneburg, Stade, Hannover, and Hildesheim. 39 Kreise used. To compare predominantly Protestant areas in Hannover with predominantly Catholic areas in Bavaria this selection was made.

<sup>5</sup> See footnote 3, Table I. 155 Kreise used.

<sup>6</sup> Includes Minor Civil divisions in Reg.-Bez. Niederbayern, Oberpfalz, Oberbayern, Schwaben. 87 Kreise used. See footnote 3 above.

computed between the proportion of holdings which were under two *Hektar* and those which were over one hundred *Hektar* added together to test the hypotheses that areas having tiny farms one the one hand, and large estates on the other, both in relatively large numbers (and where middle class or family sized farms were among the minority) produced heavy voting for Socialist and Communist parties. Strong correlations existed between the sums of these proportions of all farms which were small and large holdings and the proportion of votes cast for Socialist and Communist parties. The coefficients indicating the relationship between

Nazis, naturally leads to a consideration of the importance of Catholicism.

*Nazism and Catholicism.* Durkheim's finding concerning the coincidence of the Catholic faith and low suicide rates, as well as Max Weber's observation that the value orientation of people in non-Catholic areas predisposed them to develop and to adjust themselves to capitalistic bureaucracy, are pertinent to the consideration of the relationship between Nazism and Catholicism. This relationship had, however, more facets than the value orientation which may be said to characterize the Catholic faith. In pre-Hitler Germany, Catholicism had special signifi-



cance in the political sphere because of its own powerful political party, the Catholic Center.<sup>18</sup>

A significant finding is that the larger the proportion of people who belonged to the Catholic faith in the *Kreise* as of 1933, the smaller the Nazi vote in 1924 and 1932. For the rural *Kreise* of the Provinces of Hannover and Bavaria, the correlation coefficients which describe the relationship between the percentage of Nazi votes cast in July,

unions and other labor organizations gave their members more than higher wages, better working conditions, and shorter hours. Future study may demonstrate that these groups provided the lower wage-earning classes in Germany with many of the same satisfactions which the frustrated middle-class groups suffering from *anomie* found in the Nazi movement. It may be possible that the Holiness sects and other similar groups serve a comparable function for the lower

TABLE V. PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL VALID VOTE OBTAINED BY PARTIES IN SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN, HANNOVER AND BAVARIA, JULY 1932, BY URBAN AND RURAL COMMUNITIES

Urban and Rural Areas	Party								
	Total	NSDAP	Land Volk	DNVP	DVP	DDP	SPD	KPD	Other and Minor Parties
<b>URBAN</b>									
Schleswig-Holstein*	100	44.8	—	5.2	—	1.2	29.9	13.1	7.0
Hannover**	100	38.6	—	5.8	1.8	—	34.0	10.2	8.4
Bavaria	100	33.3	—	3.3	.9	.7	24.9	12.0	24.9
<b>RURAL</b>									
Schleswig-Holstein	100	63.8	—	9.2	—	—	18.6	5.8	2.6
Hannover	100	48.4	.1	6.7	.1	.7	22.4	6.4	14.2
Bavaria	100	32.7	.1	2.9	.9	.4	12.6	6.1	44.3

\* Data for Schleswig-Holstein from Heberle, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

\*\* Exclusive of Oldenburg, Bremen, and Braunschweig. See footnote 3, Table IV.

1932, and the percentage of Catholics in the population are minus .89 and minus .90, respectively. For all communities of the Reich, the corresponding coefficient based on larger election districts is minus .72. These coefficients and others in Table IV indicate that the Catholic segment in Germany resisted the rise of Nazism more than any other group.

*Nazism, Labor Unions, and Leftist Parties.* Many who have studied the functioning of local labor unions have been impressed with non-economic aspects of their organizational activities.<sup>19</sup> The locals of the German labor

and lower-middle class Americans who experience a loss of social solidarity. At any rate, the leftist parties in Germany (the SPD, USPD and KPD) are strong where organized wage laborers make up a relatively large segment of the population and where the middle classes make up a relatively small segment. As previously indicated, the leftist groups held their members remarkably well in the rural areas during the pre-Hitler era. More important to our problem, perhaps, is the fact that large correlation coefficients indicate that the higher the proportion of votes given these leftist parties in the July, 1932, election, the lower the proportion given to the Nazis in the rural *Kreise*. Thus, it may be concluded that in areas where a relatively large proportion of the people belonged to the labor and other leftist party organiza-

<sup>18</sup> For a somewhat different explanation of the inter-relationships between Catholicism and Nazism, see G. H. Briefs, "Limes, Germanicus, Bridge and Frontier," *Review of Policies*, Vol. 1, 1939.

<sup>19</sup> Toennies, F., *Fortschrift und Soziale Entwicklung, Geschichtsphilosophische Ansichten* (Karlsruhe: 1926).

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tions and/or where the Catholic groups were strong, Nazism made no important inroads.

Since the leftists and the voting Catholic groups held their own during the rise of Hitler, the growth of Nazism came from the ranks of those who had either not voted at all or who had voted for conservative or non-Catholic liberal parties in previous elections. For an understanding of the rise of Nazism it will be necessary to study the non-voters in pre-Hitler Germany.

*Nazism and Non-Voters.* Failure to vote may be taken as an indication of a condition favorable to affiliation with Nazism as covered by our second hypothesis. Whereas heavy Socialist voting and a preponderance of Catholics in a given area both exercised a deterring effect upon the rising power of Nazism in the Province of Hannover, the proportion of non-voters was positively associated with the proportions of votes cast for the Nazi party in rural *Kreise*. For the fifty-nine predominately Protestant Hannover *Kreise*, the relationship between the proportion of eligible persons to vote who did not vote in 1920 and 1932<sup>20</sup> and the proportion of votes cast for the Nazi party in July, 1932, are described by the correlation coefficients plus .54 and plus .43, respectively. That comparable coefficients for the 87 Bavarian *Kreise* are not significant (-.05 and -.11 respectively) indicate that in Catholic areas the failure to vote was not a correlate of the rise of Nazism because the voting discipline in predominantly Catholic communities controlled by the Church prevented drifting to a greater extent. In Catholic areas, non-voting does not seem to have been an index of predisposition for political "land slides" into the Nazi party.

<sup>20</sup> Failure to vote in 1920 compared with failure to vote in 1932 has different meaning. As Heberle points out, "Non-voting means one thing in 1920 and another in 1932. In 1920, the non-voters were mostly middle-class people indifferent or bewildered and insofar potential Nazis. In 1932 the non-voters were, in small communities at least largely anti-Nazis who did not any longer dare to vote against Hitler but who could not yet be frightened into going to the polls." Personal correspondence.

### III

#### *Nazism and the Volksgemeinschaft Idea.*

We come now to an examination of the third proposition. Briefly stated, it is our hypothesis that during the periods of rapid change in rural areas, Nazism made its greatest inroads into groups whose basic value orientation had been obtained in small-scale, primary groups and whose experience with large-scale, bureaucratic affiliations was insignificant.

Historical data are not at hand to prove this hypothesis for all rural areas of the Reich. Heberle's study of voting in Schleswig-Holstein demonstrated that the opposition on the part of family-sized farm operators and lower middle-class people in certain rural areas to what some have called statism, played into the hands of the Nazis. After World War I, party machinery had become impersonal and bureaucratic. The liberal and conservative governments were thought to be unfeeling agencies which did not have the interests of the farmer at heart. Prussianism, which institutionalized the state as an efficient bureaucracy and idealized it as an impartial guardian of justice before law, was condemned by farmers in both Hannover and Schleswig-Holstein. Although this opposition was general ever since these areas were subjugated in 1866, neither the family-sized farm operators (who had limited experience with impersonal, bureaucratic organizations of their own) nor the Nazis (who exalted and utilized the charismatic leader, the personal and local approach) were compatible with Prussianism, which represented the epitome of bureaucracy.

As in most *Gemeinschaft*-like, familistic, and folk societies the idea of the basic goodness of one's own group and kind and distrust for others was prevalent. There were many pre-Hitler movements among the rural people which stressed the importance of ethnic origins and manifested a yearning for the old *Gemeinschaft*. To these yearnings on the part of a rural people, who were being rapidly deprived of their social solidarity through the vagaries of the price and market regime, the Nazis appealed through their

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exaltation of the personal type of party leadership and the idea of the *Volksgemeinschaft* in which the peasant was promised more status, better prices, and lower taxes.

To understand the German peasant farmer's opposition to impersonal bureaucracy is not difficult for those who have had to represent government bureaus in relationships with American farmers. Most of the programs of the peasant's organizations which preceded Hitler in the Protestant areas could be duplicated in the United States. Here these "green risings" opposed both radical communism and capitalism; i.e., in farmers' language, "radicals" and "big business." In farmers' movements of both the United States and pre-Hitler Germany, the tiller of the soil was exalted as the foundation, "*der erste Stand*" or "back bone" of society. That there were ethnic and "quietistic" elements in such pre-Hitler parties as the Schleswig-Holsteinische Landespartei is also understandable to any student of American farmers' movements. That bitter denunciations of "Wall Street" and "big business" were seldom directed at any specific ethnic group is to be explained by the fact that these *Gesellschaft-like* agencies were not represented locally by members of any particular ethnic group. In many areas of Germany peasants dealt with Jewish tradesmen.

The manner in which the Nazis swept the farmer-peasant organizations of pre-Hitler Germany into the Nazi movement has paral-

els in the American Greenback, Farmers' Alliance, Populist, and similar movements. In this country these great "ground swells" were, so far as the farmers were concerned, attempts to adjust to the economic crises of the price and market regime.<sup>21</sup> In most cases the larger organizations faded out of existence after the elections, which they usually lost, were over. Each local farmers' organization which followed in the wake of these great swells warned its members of the folly of "going into politics."<sup>22</sup>

From the present analysis, it appears that in the provinces studied, Nazism was espoused and firmly supported by the Protestant, middle-class rural element. On the one hand, this group was seriously affected by economic insecurity: on the other, it had been accustomed to participate in relationships of a *Gemeinschaft* character, and was suddenly forced to participate in relationships of a formal, *Gesellschaft* character. The Nazis promised to provide for this group the things which were so recently lost. The small landowners hate and fear communism, their prejudices against labor and business groups, and their desire for a place in the scheme of things was capitalized on by the Nazis. Because of the structure and solidarity inherent in Catholicism, the Catholics were able to resist more effectively participation in the Nazi movement.

<sup>21</sup> Carl C. Taylor, *op. cit.*

<sup>22</sup> See footnote 13, especially citation to Loomis.

## THE WARD-ROSS CORRESPONDENCE II 1897-1901

BERNHARD J. STERN  
Columbia University

Ward to Ross, Washington, D.C., Jan. 1, 1899

... Your nice fat letter (so *plainly* written as if your nerves were at last composed) reached me the next day. Just to think! Only 32 the day you wrote it. People say: "You call me Uncle, why do I not call you nephew,"—because I look up to you as my

*superior*. I have been rewriting my old lecture on "Nature and Nurture or Heredity and Opportunity," and delivered it twice in New England this fall. Every day strengthens my conviction that *opportunity* is the desideratum. At 32 I knew *nothing*, had done nothing. My first article appeared in October, 1876, when I was 35 years old.

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Dynamic Sociology did not appear till 1883 when I was 42 years old! All for want of opportunity. I have been hampered since by the same obstacle—lack of time and what they call *leisure*, lack of books, lack of the right surroundings. But let it pass. I have done something notwithstanding, but as I tell them in my lecture (in reply to many letters, etc.) I am not an argument in favor of the advantageousness of adversity.

You certainly have a brilliant future before you. What a tremendous range you are giving to your studies! But you can afford it, you are so young. I hope you may realize your brightest hopes. It seems to me you are gathering data not for one book but for a series of books. Social Control will certainly make two large volumes. Others must follow. Egoism, or not, that is the kind of a letter I like to get.

You say you want to hear about my work. It would be tame and uninteresting to you. I am doing nothing in sociology but read and post up my past reading. I am absorbing. The literature had got far ahead of me and I am trying to keep abreast of it. I greatly feel the need of reading or at least becoming somewhat acquainted with a large number of old masterpieces, but I do not own them and am going to buy them. I have had a windfall on the one hand which is an eclipse on the other. They are getting out a Supplement to Webster's Dictionary and sent a member of the firm down here to urge me to do the botanical part. Having served an apprenticeship in that line on the *Century* I knew what it meant, and at first would scarcely listen to the proposition; but they offer to pay me well (\$2 an hour), and when I thought of the books I could not afford to buy, I said, I will undertake it and have some books. (You remember the story of Erasmus who after long waiting got a little job after he had become ragged, and who rushed elated to a friend and said, "Now I can get some *books*," adding, "after I get my books I am going to get some clothes.") But I should not compare small things with great.

Well! I am head and ears in dictionary

work now, and it bids fair to last six months longer. I am trying to review a book by Major Powell which he has dedicated to me,<sup>18</sup> but I find it a tough job. . . . On account of dictionary work I cannot begin to write out my system this year, or at least not for many months. But meantime I am bringing up the current reading and constantly perfecting my notes.

I had a grand time camping in August and September on the plains of Kansas and in October made an interesting expedition to the Black Hills.<sup>19</sup> I have recently completed and submitted for publication an extended paper on the Cretaceous of the Black Hills which will be illustrated by 120 plates.<sup>20</sup> It will not appear under a year. . . .

*Ross to Ward, London, May 14, 1899*

It was a beautiful letter you wrote me on New Year's and I have read and reread it several times. Within two or three weeks after its arrival we left for over seven weeks of travel, and it is only since we have returned and settled down in London that I have been able to think over what we saw. . . .

A kind of instinct told me that Tunis, the biggest, rawest, least-visited, latest brought under of the African cities was the place for me—and sure it was. I suppose with my sociological preoccupations I saw more than the average tourist. It was the first time I had touched the East, my first view of a whole and quite respectable civilization constituted in an entirely different way from the one I know. It fascinated me when I was there; it has been enlightening me ever since then. . . . I got so much light out of it that I am minded to go East instead of West the next time I shall be fortunate

<sup>18</sup> A review of J. W. Powell's *Truth and Error, or the Science of Intellection* appeared in *Science, New Series*, Vol. 9, Jan., 1899, 126-137.

<sup>19</sup> For an account of the expedition to the Black Hills see Ward's *Glimpses of the Cosmos*, New York, 1918, 6 vols., vol. 6, 64-70.

<sup>20</sup> "The Cretaceous Formation of the Black Hills as indicated by the Fossil Plants," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the U. S. Geological Survey*, Washington, 1899, part II, 521-958.

enough to have a year off and visit Japan instead of Europe. . . . I am pegging away very diligently in the British Museum Library—a case of making hay while the sun shines. I have finished chapters on Law, Public Opinion, Belief, Suggestion, Custom, Education and am near finishing the chapter on Religion. The rest of the articles don't need much rewriting so I shall now take up some of the new chapters I have planned for. Those on the Genesis of the Elements of Control are going to be the hardest. On the whole I think I can have the book two-thirds done when I leave here.

I am impressed with your remark that I am now collecting material not for one book but for several. Dim visions already arise before me of a series which should add to this study of social order I am now making, a study of social progress and of social decadence. I don't know as I have any ideas of my own on the former but the latter attracts me greatly:

During my stay in France I felt as if all Western Europe must be decadent. Here in England on the other hand I have the consciousness of being in a healthy society; I seen enough evils, goodness knows—crudeness, popular ignorance, social parasitism, religious crankism, pigheaded conservatism—but of real decadence I see not one jot. The English faults are those of people imperfectly enlightened or civilized, not of a people that is suffering from the breakup and purulence of civilized forms. The English, barbarians that they are, see the near sooner than the ultimate benefit and hence subsidize trade rather than education. The French on the other hand seem to have more logic than common sense and to sacrifice realities to abstractions. I think I can see it in the trades union policy of the two peoples and in the overgrown French budget. And in the Dreyfuss discussions their habit of deluging and losing sight of a fact in a flood of ideas was most disheartening. The power to look at a fact from too many points of view, to explain and interpret it in connection with all sorts of ideas seems to me to be a very serious vice.

The best book I have met with since I sent you Vaccaro is Demolin's "A Quoi tient la Superiorite Anglo-Saxon". It is out in English under the title "Anglo-Saxon Superiority." I have a French copy which I will gladly leave with you when I see you. It is a concrete study of English-American civilization and society in comparison with French and constitutes the best defense of individualism I have ever met with.

I received your reprint from the *Annals*<sup>21</sup> and am naturally about as keen as anyone can be to read Mr. Powers' articles<sup>22</sup> you refer to. But the B. Museum lacks the *Annals* since the September number. As for the *Journal of Sociology* they don't take it at all. So I shall have plenty to read up when I get home.

I sent off in January a paper on "The Sociological Frontier of Economics" to Tausig and learned yesterday it will appear in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics* for July. I think it agrees with your view. I make the laws of social groupings only one of the departments of sociology. . . .

Although I have not missed the tendencies over here, I am woefully ignorant of the year's output of ideas in America. I am eager to find what lines of thought developed best in your Morgantown lectures and especially the Synergism principle which I have not really grasped. . . .

Ross to Ward, Stanford University, Calif., September 6, 1899.

By this time you will undoubtedly have received an invitation from Dr. Jordan to act as lecturer in the Department of Economics and Sociology. As regards the element of *quid pro quo* Dr. Jordan tells me that the salary list covers the salary fund for this year with the exception of a very small sum for incidentals. I understood from him however that he would be able to provide an acknowledgment or honorarium

<sup>21</sup> "Sociology and Economics," *Annals*, Vol. 8, March, 1899, 230-234.

<sup>22</sup> H. H. Powers' articles on the relations of sociology and economics were published in the *Annals* from November, 1898 to March, 1899.

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which would go toward defraying expenses.

I have announced your courses and they excite much interest. The fact that in order to take the courses a student must leave two of the five hour-periods open for the entire semester makes it very difficult for some to arrange for the work. I cannot as yet tell anything as to the registration but I think there will be a satisfactory class for you. . . .

The professors are making many inquiries about you and are all jealous of the opportunity to see you. Professor Dudley<sup>23</sup> sends his regards. I am writing amid the interruptions of students so I will break off here. Let me hear from you as soon as you know when you can arrive here. Your room is ready and I will have your hearers lined up. . . .

*Ward to Ross, Riddles, Oregon, September 10, 1899.*

I arrived here this morning and found your letter and also Dr. Jordan's kind note. I expect to be here about two weeks, but we shall be out in the mountains out of reach of the mails most of that time, however, we shall return here and any mail addressed to me here will be held for me.

Our trip is to be a rough one with a wagon, and I cannot take my box of notes on a pack horse, so that I shall not be able to do any work on the lectures, and may need a few days after I get there to put them in shape before beginning. . . .

As to "*quid pro quo*," you know what I told you, I do not ask nor expect any *pay* for the lectures. . . .

*Ross to Ward, Stanford University, Calif., November 29, 1899.*

It has been four weeks since you left us and letters from home tell us you are back to Washington. . . . Since you left I buckled to and have accomplished quite a lot of work. Stimulated by your encouragement I have written in four weeks the first four

chapters of Social Control. I think I shall nearly finish the five remaining chapters of Part I by the opening of the next semester. I shall refuse to do any other work and if I have good luck I may be able to finish Social Control by next summer. I shall adopt your advice and get it out just as soon as I can. . . .

I suppose you found awaiting you the draft of \$150. from the University. I knew Dr. Jordan hoped to be able to do something but as I didn't know how much I couldn't bring the matter up before you went away. I am sure he would have been glad to make it more if he had had a larger emergency fund for his disposal.

I think you can regard your stay here as a decided success as far as we are concerned. Whether you had a good time or not is another question. Your lectures left behind them a trail of thought and discussion which shows itself in many ways. Dr. Wood, Miss Smith, Professor Feiler, Professor Howard, Professor Sanford, Mr. Webster and several others even those who did not hear any of the lectures have given evidence that your ideas were fermenting. As regards the students they have had many discussions among themselves I am told. Your egalitarian teaching as to the power of men to appropriate the fund of knowledge struck a responsive chord. Everybody is so evolutionist here that heredity has been exaggerated at the expense of opportunity.

The newspapers have been pleasant reading for us lately. They have told how Mrs. Stanford has converted great masses of non-dividend-paying S.P.R.R. stock into cash thus extricating the University from connection with the detested Southern Pacific Co. and insuring immediate increase in the income of the University. Mrs. Stanford has not yet arrived from New York, so Dr. Jordan does not know her intentions but there is no question a policy of expansion lies before us. Dr. Jordan will go slow. His first care will be to build up the engineering departments which have long been starved. Our department will stay at its present strength for a while at least.

<sup>23</sup> William Russell Dudley was Professor of Botany at Leland Stanford Junior University.



Ward to Ross, Washington, D.C., January 20, 1900.

. . . I have been living up to the good old maxim never to put off till to-morrow what you can put off till next day. Your letter has been to Europe and got back and I have read it over with as much interest as the first time. . . .

I received your little leaflet "The New Brutality" and read it with interest. At your age I was as sympathetic with the woes of the world as you are, but I had no knowledge to base my feeling on, so I was pretty foolish. Fortunately I wrote nothing of it. It is not indifference now that resigns me to events, but a sense of the infinitesimal effect of anything I could do, especially the utter powerlessness of the hortatory method. I have a feeling, perhaps wholly unfounded, that the inculcation and spread of scientific principles, even such as I am able to work out, is essentially moral, and is almost the only real moral influence in the world. But it is exceeding slow, and no one need hope to see the faintest reflex of his own efforts of this kind. . . .

The dictionary work hangs on and other work must be done after that is done, and it will be May at least before I can get off. I must see my next big [Geological] Survey paper through the press and proofs will not probably begin to come before March.

You speak of drawing me out on my trip. I suppose you mean the Arizona work. Well, it was very interesting and successful. I took my outfit to the Grand Canyon. I consider that the sublimest object in America, and you know I have seen most of our wonders. The Petrified Forests are great, and I did them up thoroughly and have submitted a full report on that subject, recommending that they be set apart as a national park.<sup>24</sup> My geological results, not only of this trip but of my Wyoming and Oregon work, I have written up and got into the paper that I submitted for publication the day I left Washington, but which is not yet in type.

<sup>24</sup> *Report on the Petrified Forests of Arizona*. Special publication of the Dept. of the Interior, Washington, 1900, 1-23.

I am now overhauling my collections.

I saw Dr. Small in Chicago as I came through and we talked about your work. He seemed deeply interested in it. We also talked about Veblen's book and he asked me to review it.<sup>25</sup> He went with me to call on Veblen, but he was away and I did not see him. I got a good letter from him some weeks later expressing his regret at not seeing me. Small has for some reason failed to send me the book, as he proposed to do, and it is probably now too late for me to undertake to review it. I have recently written Veblen telling him the circumstances, but have not heard from him since. I told him you were the man to review his book, and you are.

I read the rest of Ratzenhofer on the train. The chapters following where we left off are magnificent. The last part of the book does not strike me so favorably. Small said he had two thirds of it translated. . . .

Ross to Ward, Stanford University, Calif., April 21, 1900.

. . . The moment I begin to say anything of myself up bobs my book for it is that that chiefly engrosses my attention this year. And concerning the book I have nothing but good to report. My progress has really exceeded my expectations and whereas I had faintly hoped I might finish it by July 1, there is now every indication I shall get it done by then. I am done with 27 chapters. . . .

When you read the book you will find

<sup>25</sup> *Theory of the Leisure Class* was reviewed by Ward in *Amer. J. Sociol.*, Vol. 5, May, 1900, 820-836. Ward wrote of it: . . . "of all the reviews of books that I have written this is the best one from nearly every point of view." Veblen wrote him "Your unqualified approval has given me more pleasure than anything that has occurred in connection with the book." (Letter of April 29, 1900.) Gumpowicz acknowledged the receipt of the review with enthusiasm: "Sie haben mir durch Übersendung Ihrer Besprechung Veblen's ein grosse Freude bereitet. Ich lese und lese wieder Ihre vortrefflichen Ausfungen. Sie sprechen mir aus der Seele wenn Sie sagen: If there is one thing that the world does not want it is truth, Bravo!" (Letter dated Graz, June 17, 1900.) See Bernhard J. Stern (ed.) "The Letters of Gumpowicz to Lester F. Ward." *Sociologus Supplement No. 1* (Leipzig, 1933).

from a third to two fifths of it is new to you. Ely has become editor of a Citizen's Library of Economics and Sociology published by Macmillan and wants Social Control for it. As Macmillan is the publisher I have had in mind, I may put it in the Citizen's Library if it will fit there. It is bigger I fancy than most of the others. It will be a sizeable book of 400 pages. Do you object from any point of view to putting Social Control as sixth or seventh in his series? . . .

This has been a grand year for me. For the first time I have been able to do my University work without a sense of hurry. . . . I have followed your advice and determined to let nothing come between me and the completion of my book.

I am looking forward to your review of Veblen's book. How it fluttered the dovescotes in the East! All the reviews I have seen of it so far are shocked and angry. Clearly their household gods have been assailed by this iconoclast.

Have you read Common's reply to Hadley's Presidential address in "Proceedings" of the last meeting of the American Economic Association?<sup>26</sup> I don't know that

<sup>26</sup> J. R. Commons' reply to Arthur Twining Hadley's Presidential address at the American Economic Association meeting at Ithaca, New York, December 27, 1899, reads in part:

"While he holds that there is but one form of government, namely government by the boss of an institution controlled by such public opinion as the leading thinkers and preachers can bring to bear, I hold that there is another possible form, namely government by the different interests and classes which hitherto were subject to the boss. This also is controlled more or less by public opinion, but it is essentially different from the former. If we must wait for public opinion, led by economists and social moralists, to control the bosses in industry and politics, then we are only waiting for a harsh despotism to become a paternal despotism. But if we recognize the social classes which are struggling for a share in these despotisms, then we can look forward, not to a persistent absolutism, but to a democratic government of industry and politics where the subordinate and excluded classes gain a legal control over their rulers and are not forced to content themselves with the vagueness of merely moral control by public opinion. In other words, failure to recognize social classes means paternalism

I agree with it but it is exceedingly clever and powerful. Read it if you haven't done so.

Small I must say is very nice to me. Every so often when I get rather sceptical as to the value of my Social Control he finds occasion to send me a nice hearty little note saying generous words about my work and telling what others have said. In the conduct of the Journal he has it seems to me shown himself a broad-gauge and helpful man.

Wasn't it sad about Warner's<sup>27</sup> death? You remember you gave me the opportunity of meeting him in the first place. . . .

There is little change to report at the University. Nothing save steady progress. Building goes steadily on and the walls of the chapel are 40 feet high. A chemical laboratory costing over a hundred thousand is to be begun at once. A million dollars' worth of buildings will go up in the next two years.

There will be no considerable expansion of teaching till the building slows up. Dr. Jordan will still have to get along on a couple of hundred thousand while the remaining half million of income will go into buildings. . . .

*Ward to Ross, 51 Torrington Square, London, July 6, 1900.*

. . . The dictionary work hung on to the last and I actually took 16 galleys of proof with me, corrected it on the train and mailed it from New York. Then, I had to spend the first half of May in New Haven working in the museum from 9 o'clock till 7—too tired to do much in the evening beyond the daily grist of proof. Another thing I

based on the survival of the strongest; while recognition of social classes means self government based on legalized justice between classes."

" . . . social classes are not permanent divisions in society. They are historical categories. They are temporary and shifting."

*Papers and Proceedings of the Twelfth Annual Meeting of the American Economic Association, Third Series, Vol. 1, December 27-29, 1899, 62-80.*

<sup>27</sup> Amos G. Warner, Professor elect of Economics in Leland Stanford Junior University, and author of *American Charities* (New York, 1894) died of tuberculosis at the age of 38.

had to do that I did not tell you about was to write my big French paper for the International Institute of Sociology.<sup>28</sup> It is huge, about 90 pages of manuscript, letter size, and I got it all done before I left and brought it along. You will hear more about it. . . .

What you say about your book interests me intensely, and by your calculation it is now done! I see no objection whatever to its appearing as one of Ely's series. That will be a splendid place for it. I shall await its issue with great impatience, and shall read it all connectedly as if it were all new to me. I congratulate you on its completion and predict for it an abundant success. . . .

I am especially delighted to learn that you health is good—a proof of my theory that it not *work* that breaks down health, but other causes, especially *worry* and too close confinement. . . .

Taking up your several points: The Veblen review of course you have seen. I begged Small to have you do it, and if you had it would have been better done. I was too busy, and, as I told him, too much of a Jacobin. But I did enjoy reading the book.

Commons sent me his paper, and in order to understand it I went to the handbook of the Association and read Hadley's address first. It is a little deep water for me, but I thought Commons acquitted himself splendidly. I could understand him better than I could Hadley.

Dr. Small is nothing if not *staunch* to those he once espouses. He said very nice things of you when I saw him in Chicago, and wrote much more in his letters to me.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>28</sup> "La Mécanique Sociale," *Annales de l'Institut International de Sociologie*, Tome 7, 1901, 163-203.

<sup>29</sup> Small wrote to Ward in a letter dated March 7, 1900: . . . "I have just been re-reading Ross' articles. They impress me more and more. There are abundant *obiter dicta* that open his *guard*, but the main conception and his execution of it place him with the most original thinkers in the whole realm of social science. It does me good to applaud a piece of genuine work. If I can't do that, the next most grateful experience of my life is to riddle a sham." "The Letters of Albion W. Small to Lester F. Ward," edited by Bernhard J. Stern, *Social Forces*, Vol. 15, December, 1936, p. 182.

Did you notice his renewed defence of *Dynamic Sociology*, still clinging to the applied side?

Yes, poor Warner! "The good die first But they," etc.

. . . You may wonder why I am so long in England. I brought along a lot of official work, chiefly bibliographic, and have been working in the British Museum for nearly a month. I often think of you working there and wonder where you used to sit. None of the Paris congresses in which I am interested has met yet, and I thought I might as well keep out of Paris till I must be there. Last week we went to the Norfolk coast and had a grand time geologizing along the beach and great bluffs with one of the geologists of the Geological Survey of Great Britain. We took in Cambridge and Norwich going, and Colchester coming back. . . .

. . . I shall do a good deal of official work in Paris and of two kinds. I have been put on a per diem roll and shall receive pay (\$7 per day) for all the work I do for the [Geological] Survey. I also have instructions from Dr. Harris to write up the subject of the relations of sociology to education, as it is brought out at the Exposition and congresses, for the next Annual Report of the Bureau of Education (honorarium \$250).<sup>30</sup> These things and others will keep me busy and at the same time keep the wolf from the door. . . .

Ward to Ross, 76 rue de Seine, Paris, September 28, 1900.

I write in some haste on the eve of our departure from Paris, to inform you that the Institut International de Sociologie yesterday elected you an associate member. Its fixed rule, from which it never before departed, is not to elect any one without his express consent, but I took the liberty to guarantee that you would accept. I am sure you will do so for my sake at least. Let me assure you that your able writings are thoroughly

<sup>30</sup> "Sociology at the Paris Exposition of 1900," *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the year 1899-1900*, Washington, 1901, Vol. 2, 1451-1503.



appreciated, and your election is abundant proof of this, because heretofore those only have been chosen who have published considerably, usually noteworthy books, so that in two respects you have been made an exception solely on the ground of the exceptional merit of your numerous articles.

My big paper on Social Mechanics was most warmly received and has won for me remarkable and wholly unexpected attentions, which were crowned yesterday by my election to the presidency of the Institute.<sup>31</sup> My protestations were altogether vain, and I went in on a wave of enthusiasm. You can imagine that it was a proud occasion for me. . . .

What means the sinister rumor that was wafted over to me from Chicago some weeks ago?<sup>32</sup> I have been waiting to hear that it is false.

Ross to Ward, Stanford University, Calif., October 14, 1900.

I can't tell you how glad I am that the Institute elected you President. We just whooped when we read it. No piece of news

<sup>31</sup> For an account of this event see Lester Frank Ward, *Glimpses of the Cosmos*, New York, 1913-1917, 6 vols., Vol. 6, 112-115.

<sup>32</sup> Small wrote to Ward on August 22, 1900: . . . "I am most troubled about Ross. I presume he has given you the facts about Mrs. Stanford's fool conduct toward him. He is too much of a man to be long side-tracked, but I'm afraid he may be clogged for a time. I have put all the State Univ. Pres'ts. in the Miss. Valley on his track and wish he might be snapped up by one of them. I am not without hope that the wrong-headed old lady may be brought to her senses after all. I have written to Jordan in a vein which is intended for her eyes, expressing astonishment at the rumor that Prof. Ross is to leave Stanford, and enlarging on his reputation among sociologists, and the loss of prestige which the Univ. will incur if he is allowed to go. It seems to me that it might be well for you to do a similar thing. Mrs. S. needs to be convinced that Ross is held in high respect by people at a distance, and that her institution would suffer severely in reputation if he were to go. If you have found in Paris, as I did in Berlin, that people have been impressed by his articles on Social Control, it would be well to enlarge that fact." "The Letters of Albion J. Small to Lester F. Ward," edited by Bernhard J. Stern, *Social Forces*, Vol. 15, December, 1936, p. 184.

could have reached me from any quarter that could please me more. It was just what they ought to have done though. I guess Giddings *et al.* won't think they are the whole thing now. I have never felt that Giddings appreciated you. How Small will chortle though! . . .

Thank you for that copy of the Froude. That told the tale: "le grand sociologue américain." How rewarded you must feel after so many years of arduous work!

I was greatly astonished and delighted at the news that I have been elected associate. Nothing would please me better. You can rest assured I will accept the honor. Only a few weeks ago I was looking over the lists of names of the Institute and hoping that my name would get there after my book has been out a year or two. I had absolutely no idea of getting in on the basis of my articles. I am not so obtuse as to ascribe my election to my articles. Perhaps two or three have read them over there but I know that you proposed my name and stood sponsor for my scientific work. You were at the bottom of it and I thank you most gratefully for keeping me in mind and advancing my interest.

You should have heard from me sooner were it not for the fact that I made a kind of vow that when next I wrote I should announce the book as "Done!" On that basis I expected to write about next Saturday, for on that date I expect to dictate the last word of the book. Two days ago I dictated chapters XXXII, III, IV, and there now remains only the last chapter, the "Conclusion" which is in rough draft and which will demand only a little revising. . . .

About August 1, I got ready and sent to Ely twenty-eight chapters which ought to be enough to enable a publisher to make up his mind. Ely meantime had written to Brett of the Macmillan company telling him something about my book and proposing that it appear as a two-volume work in his "Citizen" Series. About the time he got my MS. he reported to me that he had received a very discouraging letter from Brett which expressed doubts if my book would have

sales enough to justify the publication. I immediately wrote to Ely several arguments why the book would be likely to succeed and also asked Small and Henderson to write to Ely their opinion of the book and the compliments they have heard passed upon my work. They did so and Ely informed me he got from them very good letters which he had forwarded to Brett.

On September 27 Ely wrote me that he had received a very encouraging letter from Mr. Brett and had sent him my MS. That is the last I have heard.

Now I think you can do something to help Social Control along, for I attach much importance to getting it out with Macmillan in preference to any other publisher. Will you write at once to Mr. Brett, c/o the Macmillan Company, stating (a) your good opinion and faith in the success of "Social Control," (b) any pleasant things you have heard said about my articles by men across the water and (c) the fact of my election to the Institute on the ground solely of my articles on Social Control. You could argue that if a broken series of articles have made an impression, what may be expected when these have been rewritten and completed and published in book form.

Now as to that "sinister rumor." After due deliberation I thought it best not to worry you with it while yet there was a chance that it would come to nothing. I certainly did not intend that you, who have the best claim on my confidences, should hear of it from others. I have told affairs to only two men and with injunctions to strict secrecy. Small because I wanted work for next summer, and Ely because I wanted him to press my book with Macmillans for early publication. Small at my request sounded two or three State University Presidents.

The basis of the rumor is as follows. Last May at Dr. Jordan's suggestion I presented at a meeting in S.F. a paper giving a "Scholar's View" of coolie immigration. It was a meeting under the auspices of organized labor to protest against the heavy Jap immigration and to call for the renewal

of Chinese Exclusion which expires in 1902. My paper was sober but it enraged Mrs. Stanford who was always pro-Chinese and the big capitalists who want cheap Oriental labor. She wanted to dismiss me instantly but Dr. Jordan who approves of everything I have done got me reappointed for this year. He is now making a last effort to overcome her opposition. If he fails I shall leave here on January 1 on leave of absence with pay for the rest of the year. I shall in that case publish the facts about November 10. Please keep as quiet as the grave about it for I don't want anything about it to come out before election. A const. amendment is to be voted confirming the Stanford grant and giving the legislature the right to exempt University property from taxation. If this case of mine leaks out it will kill the amendment and thus indirectly shake the legal foundations of the University. Moreover my case would be injured by receiving a political taint.

Dr. Jordan is very sad. He has, as he told me yesterday, "played all his trumps." In a few days he ought to hear from Mrs. S. who is now in Germany. I have no expectation of success. I am serene. Have already had an offer from one of the strong State Universities. If I go it will at least call attention to the encroachments of wealth upon the freedom of teachers.

*Ward to Ross, Washington, D.C., October 26, 1900.*

. . . I was interested in what you say about your book, and last night I wrote a letter to Brett along the lines you suggested, which may or may not have weight. . . . I sincerely hope you may have no trouble, and I believe it will be a success in every way. I am very anxious to get hold of it and devour it.

I hardly know what to say about the affairs at Stanford. What a disgrace it is that the opinions of professors are made the ground for hunting them about from place to place! The inevitable effect is to make sycophants of all that remain and drive out all that have any merit or char-

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acter. This is the universal effect of persecution throughout history. Imbecile Spain is the product of it and how it counted against France and in favor of England, Switzerland and other free countries!

The more I think of it the more I appreciate my own humble position, but one that never questions my words or actions so long as I do my official duty. They may talk all they please about the freedom of the universities, but there is no freedom, and everybody I know is playing a role to conciliate controlling interests. Of course you cannot lie fallow long. If they give you six months to find a place it will be a chance to do a lot of work. Small wrote feelingly on the subject but did not tell what the trouble was.

No institution ought to be under the supreme control of one person. Boards of trustees are bad enough, but one autocrat, and it matters little who it is, will always make everything insecure. I do not see why Jordan is not as great a sinner as you are, and it would serve Mrs. Stanford right if he would resign. But it would be next to fatal to the university. In fact I think I already see signs of degeneracy in it. I only hope it will be the means of your coming East to stay. . . .

*Ward to Ross, Washington, D.C., Christmas, 1900.*

. . . I shall break ground on my book: System of Pure Sociology, New Year's Day. That night I shall have a little gathering of thinking people here, similar to that of seven years ago when I launched the *Psychic Factors*.

How I wish you could be here then! Can't you come? I shall ask Sadie. She and I have read her thesis together. Dr. Small offered to print it, but he probably did not know how extensive it is. You may see him at the meeting or in Chicago and can talk with him about it. . . .<sup>33</sup>

<sup>33</sup> The series of five successive articles by Miss Sarah E. Simons on "Social Assimilation" appeared in the *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 6 (May 1901), pp. 790-822; Vol. 7 (July, Sept., Nov., 1901, Jan., 1902), pp. 53-74, 234-248, 386-404, 539-556.

*Ross to Ward, Detroit Mich., January 9, 1901.*

Think how disappointed I am that at this time of all others when there is so much I want to hear about I shall not get to see you! Since it is settled that I am to lecture at the University of Nebraska this spring I feel I can hardly afford to go on to Washington for the very brief stay I should be able to make. I shall send you Rosy who will tell you about *l'affaire* but will not be able to pass on to me your experiences at the exposition. So please keep them fresh till I come on in June.

Although I could not be at the christening no one has a better right than I to grip your hand and offer most heart-felt congratulations on beginning the new book. . . . There isn't a man in this country in any social science who isn't interested in what you are doing and doesn't take a pride in the "*monumentum aere perennius*" you are gradually building. So here's to the health of the youngster.

I am just now giving Social Control a final condensing and revising in line with Dr. Ely's suggestions. You know it will appear in his "Citizen" series. In two days I shall be done with it and shall send it on to the printers. Drags doesn't it? Well there ought to be no further delay now. It took four months for Macmillans to accept the book and for Ely to read it critically.

Ely tells me it is a "great book," the only book that has passed through his hands upon which he has bestowed the term "great." He thinks it scintillates all through and says it will establish my scientific reputation. He says after it is out no one will have any apprehension as to my future. He thinks the book will actually sell. Isn't it nice?

At Nebraska University which has 2,500 students by the way I shall give three courses "Social Psychology," "Education and Society," and "Cities": in all seven hours a week. Dr. Andrews [Chancellor of the University] promises me a warm reception and appreciative classes. Both the University of Nebraska and the University of Iowa are hospitably inclined toward me (this is



confidential) but their full professors get only \$2,000 a year. Their souls would be their own though.

The economists at their meeting appointed a committee, Seligman, Gardiner of Brown and Farnam of Yale—to look into my dismissal and to initiate action if such seemed desirable.<sup>34</sup> They thought of either circulat-

<sup>34</sup> In their report on the subject criticizing President David Jordan a committee of economists wrote: "The following facts are, we believe, undisputed:

It is customary for professors in the Leland Stanford University to be reappointed early in May of each year. Professor Ross failed to receive his annual reappointment early in May, 1900. He was, however, reappointed on June 2. On June 5, he handed to President Jordan his resignation as follows:

"Dear Dr. Jordan:—I was sorry to learn from you a fortnight ago that Mrs. Stanford does not approve of me as an economist, and does not want me to remain here. It was a pleasure, however, to learn at the same time of the unqualified terms in which you had expressed to her your opinion of my work and your complete confidence in me as a teacher, a scientist and a man.

While I appreciate the steadfast support you have given me, I am unwilling to become a cause of worry to Mrs. Stanford or of embarrassment to you. I, therefore, beg leave to offer my resignation as professor of sociology, the same to take effect at the close of the academic year, 1900-1901."

This resignation was not acted on until November 12, when it was accepted by President Jordan in the following letter

"I have waited till now in the hope that circumstances might arise which would lead you to a reconsideration. As this has not been the case, I therefore, with great reluctance, accept your resignation, to take effect at your own convenience. In doing so I wish to express once more the high esteem in which your work, as a student and a teacher, as well as your character as a man is held by all your colleagues."

On November 14, Professor Ross authorized the publication in the newspapers of a statement setting forth the causes of his resignation and its acceptance, attributing it to a dissatisfaction felt by Mrs. Stanford with his expressions of opinion on questions of public policy, particularly Coolie Immigration and Municipal Ownership of public service corporations. On the following day, President Jordan wrote Professor Ross to the effect that, in view of his published statement, it was desirable that his connection with the University should terminate immediately.

The report was prepared by Seligman, Farnam, and Gardner and undersigned by White, Clark, Adams, Taussig, Ely, Patten, Mayo-Smith, Schwab,

ing a signed protest to be afterward given to the press or else sending out to all economists a circular letter stating the ascertained facts and asking the economists to make the facts known, in the educational world. I like the latter idea better.

I am not sure I want anything done. It all depends on whether Dr. Jordan is (as I hear) writing East letters which aim to justify Mrs. Stanford. Dr. Leonard Howard told Vic that the scientific men were being flooded with letters of this sort. I am very anxious to find out *if* he is writing and just *what* he is writing but cannot well go about it. Do you not think you can help me? Can you not make inquiries among your scientific brethren to ascertain if Dr. J. has been writing them "confidential" letters? If you find such cases can you not get the precise phraseology or the letter itself so that I can show Seligman just what sort of a campaign is being conducted. This matter may prove of the utmost importance to my future.

Small was not at the meeting nor shall I see him on my way West. He is absent on a big inspection tour among the affiliated colleges.

*Ward to E. A. Ross Washington, D.C., February 3, 1901.*

... I must say a word about the scandalous way you have been treated by Stanford. Rosie has told me much in confidence, fearing you might not approve. Of course there will be no breach of confidence, but it seems to me that there are limits to notions of honor and high-mindedness. If half I hear is true no such scruples actuate your persecutors. They seem willing to protect themselves at the expense of your good name, and they should be made to disavow publicly the slanders against you that are afloat. You have the means of compelling them to do so, and duty to yourself and your family

Sherwood, Giddings, Ashley, Hull, Dewey, Emery, and Seager.

*Report of the Committee of economists on the dismissal of Professor Ross from Leland Stanford Junior University, 1901.*

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and friends require you to do so. The Economic Association Committee should inform Dr. Jordan that such slanders have come to their ears, which he is allowing to go uncontradicted, apparently helping them on, and that in view of this, with your reluctant consent, they deem it necessary to publish all the damaging evidence in their possession, as showing the *animus* behind it all, and giving the public a basis for judging how much they can properly believe of what they hear coming from such a source.

I do not think any of my friends here have received any letters on the subject from Dr. Jordan. The only ones to whom he would be likely to write are not near enough to me to be approachable. But we know that he has written letters, especially to college presidents, etc., and if any of them can be got hold of by the committee they will be good documents. Perhaps the committee can secure a few, or even a refusal to send them would be useful information.

... I have not written anything yet, but have begun a big job of organizing my materials. I have also staked off the heads. We will talk this all over when you come. I suppose your proofs will soon begin to come. How I long to see the book! Now I must go to work. Yours in all faith and affection.

I forgot to say that I wrote to Worms about my incumbency and he replied confirming the statement I made to you, viz., that I was elected president of the Institute at its next meeting whenever and wherever that may be, i.e. I will be the president for that year, probably 1903.

Ross to Ward, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb., April 20, 1901.

I enclose a letter which I thought of sending to the *Popular Science Monthly*, but I afterwards concluded they would certainly fail to print it. Can you not write them a note calling attention to the shameful garbling with which they seek to show that I was not a fit man for my place at Stanford University? They will pay attention to what

you write for they know you, and moreover, you occupy the position of a disinterested observer. A good many intelligent people read the *Monthly* and I don't like to have them misled as to my views if I can help it.<sup>35</sup> . . .

P.S. Don't do this unless it seems best to you.

The enclosure addressed to the Editor of the *Popular Science Monthly*, dated April 20, 1901, read: "Dear Sir: In an editorial in your April issue you criticise as of present application, some remarks of mine in an article on Class Control in the November number of the *American Journal of Sociology*. Now these remarks, as the context

<sup>35</sup>The editorial summarized the developments in the case, in the course of which it utilized the quotation to which Ross refers in his letter. Then concluded: "The question is not as to the truth or falsehood of Prof. Ross' views, nor as to the desirability of having reformers and even fanatics in the land; it is whether the university, to its own injury, should lend them its authority, whether the professor should have not only the right to investigate and communicate his results to his peers, but should also be free to involve a university in partisan conflicts. At Stanford, the question is complicated by the fact that Mrs. Stanford has so recently given to the university the vast fortune of 27 million dollars, collected by the late Senator Stanford. Prof. Ross' teachings being repeated to her, perhaps in a distorted form, she is reported to have said, 'He calls my husband a thief.' Now it is evident that a university cannot be a proprietary institution controlled by a rich man or a group of rich men who dictate the teachings of the professors. But it is also true that the university professor must work in harmony with certain well-defined traditions. The more responsible the position of a man, the more careful must he be in giving expression to views. When Professor Ross says that teachers are unproductive laborers, retained by the idle enjoyers of a parasitic organization to intimidate, beguile and cajole the exploited majority, it seems evident that this is no longer academic freedom of speech, but simply a statement of unfitness for an academic position." "The Progress of Science" *Popular Science Monthly*, Vol. 58, April, 1901.

For Ross' account of "The Stanford Case" and its sequela in the forced resignation of Professor George Elliott Howard, head of the History Department, for denouncing the action of the University, and the protest resignations of other of his colleagues, see E. A. Ross, *Seventy Years of It*, New York, 1936, pp. 64-86.

clearly shows, related to the caste societies of the Middle Ages with their nobles and serfs. I cannot without protest allow statements regarding European society in the thirteenth century, to be construed as applying to American society in the twentieth century. At the close of my article I state distinctly that class control is not found in competitive societies. Respectfully yours, E. A. Ross (sgd)."

*Ward to Ross, Washington, D.C., April 24, 1901.*

I have slept two nights over your letter with a storm of conflicting ideas that has as yet scarcely lulled, but I believe I have definitely concluded to advise you to do nothing whatever about the matter. I presume I could get your protest printed, but it would be first submitted to Jordan who would accompany it with an answer, using all his sophistry, and to those who do not know the circumstances your case would not be improved.

Your dignified silence on the whole subject is making an excellent impression, and is far more effective than anything you would say. Your book will soon be out, and

the world can then judge you, and it will do so. The ichthyologists can't hurt you as long as the economists are with you. I would try to inhibit my indignation to the utmost and let the world wag.

Perhaps I am wrong in this, but I have certainly revolved it o'er and o'er till I can get no farther. I hope you will not think it is unwillingness on my part. I would take pleasure in any sacrifice that I though would do you the least good.

*Ward to Ross, Washington, D.C., July 4, 1901.*

I have scarcely looked up since I got home last Friday noon and found myself under the load of accumulated work. Only today have I begun to breathe easy. And the first thing to do is to express to you my sense of gratitude and appreciation for the honor you so copiously pour upon me in *that dedication*.<sup>36</sup> The idea had never entered my head, and if it had it would

<sup>36</sup> Ross dedicated his *Social Control* to Ward with the inscription: "To my master, Lester F. Ward, pioneer and pathfinder in the study of society, this work is gratefully dedicated."

#### ENCLOSURE

#### A System of Pure Sociology: Contents

##### Part I—Taxis.

- Chapter I. General Characteristics of Pure Sociology
- II. Systems of Sociology
- III. The Subject-matter of Sociology
- IV. Methodology
- V. Filiation

##### Part II—Genesis.

- VI. The Dynamic Agent
- VII. Biologic origin of the Subjective Faculties
- VIII. The Conative Faculty
- IX. Social Mechanics
- X. Social Statics
- XI. Social Dynamics
- XII. Classification of the Social Forces
- XIII. The Ontogenetic Forces
- XIV. The Phylogenetic Forces
- XV. The Sociogenetic Forces

##### Part III—Telesis.

- XVI. The Directive Agent
- XVII. Biologic Origin of the Objective Faculties
- XVIII. The Non-advantageous Faculties
- XIX. Control of the Physical Forces
- XX. Control of the Social Forces



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have been instantly banished. In all candor, aren't you afraid it was a mistake?

I certainly fear it may injure the sale and vogue of your book. I am not much in favor in certain quarters, and such things tend to class us together and make me a weight about your neck.

I shall soon commence the systematic reading of the whole book. I will understand you better than I have done heretofore.

I am now ready to resume work on my System. While in the field, and chiefly nights before going to sleep, or when I would lie awake awhile, I worked the whole outline of it over and renamed and rearranged a number of the chapters, going over and over it until it was all firmly fixed in my memory. Last night I drew it up for the first time and made a duplicate which I inclose and do not want back.<sup>37</sup> Perhaps you do not remember the first draft well enough to see the difference, but I think I have greatly improved it.

We are so glad that Rosie got through so nicely, and hope you may both have good health and that the baby may be well and strong. Rose sends love to you all. Of course you know all the family news.

Ross to Ward, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb., July 7, 1901.

I received yesterday your reprint of *La mécanique sociale* and have dipped into it. Shall read it on the train Tuesday. Your writing such a paper, converting it into French and reading it in that language is to my mind a marvellous feat. I don't wonder that your reputation is international.

I am very glad you liked the dedication and didn't object. It was a liberty I took but I thought maybe you wouldn't mind. Since the first moment I conceived the book I have hugged the idea of dedicating it to you and have labored all the harder to make the book worthy of it. In these days when so many little academic fellows are writing on sociological topics too big for them it is a real pleasure for me to make clear by the dedication who I think is the master of us all.

<sup>37</sup> See page 746.

Thank you for taking the trouble to send me the outline of your book. It seems to me that both in arrangement and in terminology you have got it perfect; and in a harmonious system the perfection of logic in the order and division into parts is half the battle in making it clear to the reader. I am sure that this new book will write itself when you set pen to paper. Alas, I shall have to sweat blood whenever I write for I am not naturally logical in my thinking!

I feel quite lost now that my book is done. My reading and thinking now seems so aimless and desultory. I shall have to lay a new keel so that I may have something at hand to occupy my spare energy. At the same time I want to be sure that what I undertake is worth while. I thought at one time of a book on *The Psychology of Society* which would cover the divisions of the subject mentioned in my preface and would be complementary to "Social Control." The chief trouble is my vast indebtedness to Tarde. About half would be founded on him. More recently the idea has come to me of a work on "The Social Evolution of Today," describing the developments now taking place in all societies under the influence of Western Civilization. I have in mind about a dozen great processes such as individualization, socialization, industrialization, secularization, delocalization, denationalization, specialization, differentiation, demoralization, urban agglomeration, segregation, free association. I would give anything to talk it over with you, explain what I have in mind, and get your opinion.

Meantime I have a considerable piece of work cut out for me in preparing my four Harvard lectures, which are due next March. I shall review the entire literature of Sociology and try to reach some general points of view. I much distrust my synthetic grasp however and am inclined to think that my only hold is analytic work.

Ward to Ross, Washington, D.C., November 24, 1901.

... Every time I read the array of fresh topics that you enumerate as having before

you for treatment in your next book I would say to myself: How presumptuous in me to pretend to be able to advise you! There are men who are beyond and above all need of counsel, and you are one of these. I am greatly interested in it all, and especially in those Harvard lectures. I suppose you have been carrying out your intention to "review the entire literature of sociology," but I gather that you do not propose to make the lectures a review of it, but rather the general results, conclusions, and impressions that it all combines to form in your own mind. That will certainly be a grand subject, and when those lectures are all written out your next book will be done.

Just think! Your letter was written just one week before I put my pen down to write the first line of my *System of Pure Sociology*. I got back from Arizona near the end of June. The arrangement of my notes was not yet finished, and it took me till July 13 to complete that. On July 14 I commenced writing. The first chapter was a mere introduction, but the second (Systems of Sociology) was a terror. Many a whole evening was spent in merely reading and arranging the data without writing a word. It was commenced on July 16 and not finished till August 27. It contains about 30,000 words, and reviews with considerable thoroughness twelve systems of sociology, all entirely exclusive of my own.

Since then I have continued pegging away and last night I finished my eighth chapter. The only change I have made in the prospectus sent you is to make part II begin with Chapter V instead of Chapter VI. This was wholly in the interest of logic, as Chapter V is the head and front of the whole system, and not a mere part of the method. But alas! when I got along into

Part II, I began to realize that I was overstepping the bounds I had set up for the volume, and to which I am determined to adhere. So I began to think what I could sacrifice, and concluded to sacrifice the greater part of Chapter II, as not essential to my own system. But I did not like the idea of wasting those two months of the hardest work I have done, and besides, that chapter contains things that I have much wanted to say to the world. After much reflection I wrote to Dr. Small, told him I had a survey of contemporary sociology that I could not get into my book, and asked him if he wanted it. I tried to scare him all I could with its magnitude, but he wouldn't scare, and it has gone to Chicago. He thinks he can get 30 pages into the January number.

You know, of course, that Sadie comes over Sunday evenings to read sociology with me, but this fall she has rather insisted on hearing me read my book to her, and it has dragged along till now and not given us time to resume our readings in Schaeffle, Gumplowicz, etc. But we shall catch up probably to-night, and take up some other author besides Ward. . . .

The more I work in sociology the richer the field seems, and I think it a great privilege to be in the midst of such a young, promising science, trying to help it get on its feet. Small has written me that you have consented to review Gidding's *Inductive Sociology*. He sent it to me. I wrote him a good letter, but have not had time to read it. I let Sadie take it and she has read all she could of it, but it is like trying to read a table of logarithms. Small says you are favorably impressed with it. I can say nothing yet, though I have mentioned it in my chapter. . . .

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## CURRENT ITEMS



### NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

**United Nations Economic and Social Council**, requiring advice and assistance on matters affecting or affected by population changes, established a POPULATION COMMISSION on October 3, 1946.

The Population Commission will arrange for studies and advise the Council on (1) population changes, the factors associated with such changes, and the policies designed to influence these factors; (2) inter-relationships of economic and social conditions and population trends; (3) migratory movements of population and factors associated with such movements; (4) other population problems on which the principal or subsidiary organs of the United Nations or the specialized agencies may seek advice.

The Commission will consist of one representative from each of twelve members of the United Nations selected by the Council. Except for the initial period, the term of office of members of the Commission will be three years. The original members of the Commission will be China, United Kingdom, United States, USSR, Australia, Canada, France, Ukrainian SSR, Brazil, Netherlands, Peru and Yugoslavia.

The Commission will invite representatives from the Economic and Employment Commission, Statistical Commission, and the Social Commission to take part in the proceedings of the Commission, but they will not be entitled to a vote.

**Deutsche Gesellschaft für Soziologie.** Prof. Leopold von Wiese was recently elected President of the German Sociological Society. He presided at the first post-war meeting held at Frankfurt September 18-21, 1946. He is now lecturing at Bonn and Cologne. His 70th birthday will be December 7 of this year and a number of his former students are contributing to a *Festschrift* to be presented to him on that occasion.

**Social Science Research Council.** Two hundred and one awards were made during the academic year 1945-46 and the first two months of 1946-47. The awards total \$244,000 and provide for study and research in the fields of economics, political science, sociology, statistics, social anthropology, social psychology, geography, political, social and economic history and related disciplines.

One hundred and sixty-four of the fellowships were granted under a temporary Demobilization Award program to assist social scientists whose pro-

fessional work had been seriously disrupted by service in the armed forces or other war activities in the return to academic and research careers. Eleven fellows were appointed under the continuing program of postdoctoral and predoctoral awards for research training through advanced study and field experience. The remaining twenty-six awards were grants-in-aid of research designed to assist mature scholars in the completion of research projects already well under way.

**Journal of Social Casework** is the new name of *The Family*. Florence Hollis is editor. Now in its twenty-seventh year of publication, the *Journal of Social Casework* is a professional monthly magazine published by the Family Service Association of America.

**Russell Sage Foundation.** Raymond W. Holbrook, former associate director of libraries at the University of Georgia, has been appointed director of the library of Russell Sage Foundation. This specialized collection is one of the oldest and most complete libraries in the field of social welfare.

**Albright College** announces the appointment of Dr. John E. Jacobi to the professorship of Sociology, beginning with the fall semester. Dr. Jacobi has been teaching at Tusculum College, Greeneville, Tennessee, for the past five years and spent the past summer teaching at New York University.

**Boston University.** The Department of Sociology has been increased this year by the addition of the following as full-time members of the staff: Dr. Herbert D. Lamson, formerly Associate Professor of Sociology at the University of Maine, who has been appointed Professor of Sociology; Dr. George E. Howard, formerly Supervisor of field studies in Venezuela for the Yale Caribbean Area Project, who has been appointed Assistant Professor of Anthropology; Mr. T. Scott Miyakawa, formerly in charge of a study of religious administration in colleges for the American Association of State Universities, who has been appointed Instructor in Sociology. Dr. Leland H. Wyman will also give his course in American Indian Cultures of the Southwest as a regular part of the departmental offering.

**Brigham Young University.** Reed H. Bradford has joined the Sociology Department. He was formerly employed by West Virginia University and he completed requirements for his Ph.D. at



Harvard in August with thesis on "Differential Fertility in the United States."

Other regular members of the teaching staff are Harold T. Christensen and Ariel S. Ballif. Professor Emeritus John C. Swensen handles one advanced course each quarter.

**Columbia University.** Professor Robert M. MacIver is on leave during the winter session to conduct a study of racial and ethnic relations, under subvention from the Rockefeller Foundation.

Dr. Gottfried Salomon-Delattre has been appointed visiting lecturer in Sociology for the winter session.

The Bureau of Applied Social Research, the laboratory adjunct to the Department, announces publication of *The People Look at Radio*, (University of North Carolina Press), by Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Harry Field. The book is based upon a nation-wide survey of attitudes toward radio and relates these attitudes to the role of radio as a social institution.

The Bureau has made arrangements with Harper and Brothers for a series of monographs under the editorship of Paul F. Lazarsfeld. The initial volume in the series, now in press, is *Mass Persuasion*, a socio-psychological analysis of a radio war bond drive, by Robert K. Merton, Marjorie Fiske and Alberta Curtis. Forthcoming publications in this series include *Say It With Figures*, a manual for research workers on the processing, analysis and presentation of quantitative data, by Hans Zeisel, and *The Children Talk about Comics*, an analysis of the psychological role of comic books as a type of mass culture, based upon detailed case studies of children drawn from varying social backgrounds, by Marjorie Fiske and Katherine Wolf.

C. Wright Mills and Helen Schneider are preparing a volume entitled *Influence: The Study of Stratification and Opinion Leaders*. The research deals with the social psychology of opinion changes in the fields of politics, fashion, movies and commodities.

C. Wright Mills has been awarded a Guggenheim fellowship for a historical and psychological study of the white-collar strata in the United States, to be published under the title, *The New Middle Class: A Study of White-Collar Workers*.

**Florida State College for Women.** The Department of Sociology and Social Work has been divided into the Department of Sociology and the Department of Social Work, but several members will teach in both departments. Dr. Coyle E. Moore has been made head of the Department of Social Work. At the present time, Dr. Moore is doing no teaching since he has been made Registrar of the University of Florida Extension unit which is in operation here. Dr. Moore is also a member of the National Council of Education for Social Work, Treasurer of the National Association of Schools

of Social Administration and Secretary-Treasurer of the Southern Sociological Society. The department lost three members of its staff last year: Miss Bernice Moskowitz, Miss Caroline Blue and Dr. Paul Shankweiler. Three new members have been added to the staff: Mr. Thomas P. Monahan, Mr. Lester S. Pearl and Mr. Milton R. Charles. Mr. Monahan has finished his residence requirements for the Ph.D. degree at the University of Pennsylvania. Mr. Pearl has just secured his release from the Navy, in which he served as a Lt. Commander. Mr. Charles, who has his Master's degree from Stanford University, has recently been serving in the Monterey, California, Department of Public Welfare.

**Hood College.** Dr. Wayne C. Neely taught during the summer at New York University. Mr. Chauncey Meacham, recently engaged in graduate work at the University of Minnesota, has been added to the staff.

**Louisiana State University.** Mr. Bardin H. Nelson and Mr. Joseph S. Vandiver have been appointed instructors in the Department of Sociology. Mr. Alvin L. Bertrand has been appointed research assistant in the Department of Rural Sociology.

While he was in Rio de Janeiro serving as visiting professor at the Faculdade Nacional de Filosofia, T. Lynn Smith was awarded the degree of Doctor "Honoris Causa" by the Universidade do Brasil. This degree was given in recognition of Smith's book, *Brazil: People and Institutions*, recently published by the Louisiana State University Press.

The Casa do Estudante do Brasil (National Student Federation of Brazil) has just brought out *Sociologia da Vida Rural*, a Portuguese translation of T. Lynn Smith's *Sociology of Rural Life*.

**Michigan State College.** Duane Gibson returned from the Navy September 1 where with the rank of Lieutenant Commander he was serving in the Test and Research Section of the Bureau of Naval Personnel. While in the Navy he assisted in surveys of morale, orientation and future plans of enlisted men in the Navy.

Edgar Schuler, formerly with the staffs of Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare of the United States Department of Agriculture, Office of War Information, and Louisiana State University joined the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, September 1. He will be in charge of the social psychology courses and is heading up studies of Michigan rural libraries and assisting agricultural extension workers in attitude, opinion and information studies aimed at sensitizing extension programs to local desires and needs. He and C. R. Hoffer are engaged in a study of Michigan's unmet medical needs.

Christopher Sower, who since returning from service with the Red Cross, has been engaged in

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research in the Division of Field Studies and Training in the Agricultural Extension Service of the USDA, joined the staff of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, October 1. Before joining the staff, Sower completed a study of the 4-H Club and youth programs in Kentucky and plans to continue similar studies in Michigan.

J. Allan Beegle has just completed the manuscript for an Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin on the composition and characteristics of Michigan's population.

C. R. Hoffer has finished field work on a study of unmet medical needs in three Michigan counties. Paul Honigsheim, who has been promoted to full professor, is offering for the first time in this quarter a course, entitled "Comparative Social History." Solon Kimball was a staff member of Wellesley School on Community Affairs' project of inter-cultural relations.

Charles P. Loomis, head of the department, taught the Farm Foundation's graduate course in rural sociology for rural ministers at Garrett Biblical Institute during August. He has received a Social Science Research Council grant to complete a study of the changes in attitudes, opinions, English speaking ability and knowledge about the United States as a result of one year's stay in the United States on the part of Latin American USDA trainees.

**Municipal University of Omaha.** Miss Beulah Harvey has been appointed instructor in Sociology. Also Mrs. Virginia Haradon is the new fellow in Sociology. Dr. T. Earl Sullenger was elected first vice-president Mid-Western Sociological Society at the annual election last spring.

**Princeton University.** Mr. Harry C. Bredemeier has been appointed instructor in Sociology. Mr. Bredemeier comes to Princeton from Columbia University, where he held a Graduate Fellowship in Sociology. During the past summer Mr. Bredemeier served as instructor at New York University.

**Queens College.** Three new members have been recently added to the department. In February, 1946, Dr. Paul Neurath, who had been teaching at City College, was appointed instructor. In September, 1946, Dr. Elizabeth K. Nottingham, formerly of Newcomb College, Tulane University, was appointed an assistant professor, and Mr. Simon Marcson, formerly of Pennsylvania State College, became special lecturer. Professor Hortense Powdermaker is on leave of absence for the year 1946-47 in Hollywood where she is carrying forward a research project on the impact of the motion picture on American culture.

During the first semester of 1946 the chairman of the department, Professor Kimball Young, has been in charge of a special project for the training of a small group of officer-instructors from West

Point in Military Psychology and Psychology of Leadership. The work consists of directed reading, conferences, and seminars. Professor Douglas Spencer of the Department of Psychology is assisting in the conduct of this course. In January, 1947, these officers will begin to teach a new course in military psychology and leadership at West Point.

**Reed College.** Professor Bee has accepted a position at the University of Utah.

Thomas D. Eliot of Northwestern University has been appointed visiting professor of sociology, and William Spencer of the University of California comes as instructor in anthropology. Beside a combined introductory year and independent studies, courses will be offered in the Family, Social Control, Ethnic Relations, Chinese Culture, and The Nature of Culture.

Professor Eliot gave courses in Social Control, Social Economy and Juvenile Delinquency at the summer session (Portland Center) of The Oregon System of Higher Education.

**Rollins College.** Dr. C. Wendell King, who has been teaching at Yale, has joined the Rollins faculty as assistant professor of sociology.

**Russell Sage College.** Dr. Margaret M. Wood, associate professor of sociology at Russell Sage College, Troy, New York, has been granted a leave of absence to join the faculty of the Army Overseas Educational Program in Japan.

Miss Rosalind Kean of New York City, who earned her B. A. at the University of California and completed graduate work at Columbia University, has been named an instructor in sociology.

**State College of Washington.** Dr. J. V. Berreman has resigned his position as Associate Professor of Anthropology and Sociology to accept a position in the University of Oregon. Dr. H. Ashley Weeks has been granted a year's leave of absence to serve with the United States Army of Occupation in Germany to direct War Department studies in public opinion and morale.

Mr. John Honigmann of Yale University has accepted a position as Assistant Professor of Anthropology.

New instructors coming into the department are Joel B. Montague from the University of Tennessee; John Edlefsen from Boise Junior College; Joseph Greenberg from Yale University; John Lillywhite from University of Utah, and Lotus Trub of the State College of Washington.

**University of Kansas.** A new Department of Social Work has been established under the directorship of Professor Esther E. Twente. For the present year a one-year graduate professional curriculum will be offered. It is expected that a second year of professional work will be added later on. Mr. John

D. Bradley, formerly with the Indiana State Department of Social Welfare and DePauw University, has joined this department with the rank of assistant professor.

Dr. Harold A. Gibbard, formerly of Brown University, has joined the department with the rank of assistant professor. He will do research in the field of the community and offer courses in Urban Sociology and Community Organization. Dr. Marston M. McCluggage has returned from military leave. During his last year in the Navy he was Civil Readjustment Officer in the Navy demobilization program, and was stationed at San Pedro, California.

Three members of our staff are on leave during the present academic year. Dr. Mabel A. Elliott is conducting a survey for the Historical Division of the American Red Cross on disaster relief. Dr. Seba Eldridge is taking his sabbatical which he will devote to research in the field of culture and personality. Dr. Hilden Gibson is serving as Research Associate in Human Relations at Harvard University. Dr. Carroll D. Clark held a similar position during the past academic year.

**University of Michigan.** Announcement has been made of the establishment of the Survey Research Center under the direction of Dr. Rensis Likert, formerly director of the Division of Program Surveys in the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. The Center will carry on surveys by means of national samples. It plans to do surveys for government agencies, for individuals and for departments within the University. The Center will be integrated with the program of the University, particularly in the fields of Sociology and Psychology. It is planned to employ students, both graduates and undergraduates on a part-time basis. The members of the staff will also give courses on the graduate level. Other members of the staff are: Albert A. Campbell, assistant director, Charles F. Cannell, head of the field staff, George Katona, research associate, and Eleanor Maccoby, study director. Dr. Likert has been appointed to a professorship and Dr. Campbell to an associate professorship in both the departments of sociology and psychology.

**University of Minnesota.** Professor F. Stuart Chapin, chairman of the Department of Sociology and Director of the School of Social Work will be on sabbatical leave during the winter quarter of the academic year 1946-1947 doing research on housing and community organization and finishing a book to be called *Experimental Designs in Sociological Research*.

Professor Lowry Nelson who has been on leave of absence in the Caribbean during the past academic year doing research work for the U. S. Department of State will return to his duties in the fall quarter.

Professor George B. Vold has been granted leave of absence to accept an assignment under the War Department and study the prison system in Japan. Professor Coral W. Topping of the University of British Columbia has been appointed for the academic year to teach the courses in criminology ordinarily given by Professor Vold.

Four new instructors of sociology in the department have been appointed, Dr. Theodore Caplow, Mr. Toimi Kyllonen, Mr. Philip Selznick and Mr. John Zadrozny.

**University of Mississippi.** Dr. Morton B. King, Jr., became head of the department in February upon his release from the Army. He was stationed at personnel centers and hospitals doing classification and both vocational and psychiatric counseling. Vernon Davies joined the staff as associate professor at the beginning of the summer session, coming from the University of Minnesota where during 1945-46 he was Acting Director of Research in Rural Sociology. Julien R. Tatum is assistant professor. During 1945-46 he was on leave from the University of Arkansas completing his doctorate at Louisiana State University. Prof. Allen D. Edwards, head of the department at Winthrop College, is teaching Population and the Southern Region during the second summer term.

A research program, supported in part by departmental funds, will be started in cooperation with the University's Bureau of Public Administration. The Master's degree will be offered with graduate fellowships available for qualified applicants.

**University of Missouri.** A one-year curriculum in social work has been organized in the department of Sociology. It is anticipated that a two-year program will be set up in the near future.

Mr. Carl Chapman has been appointed instructor in the department of Sociology. He will be in charge of archaeological research and will teach one course in anthropology. Lawrence Hepple, who received his doctorate at the summer session, has been appointed assistant professor of Sociology. Miss Mary Miller has been appointed instructor in Sociology. Dr. Sara Feder will teach on a part-time basis during the coming year.

Cecil L. Gregory has joined the Department of Rural Sociology as instructor.

A research bulletin entitled "Use of Medical Services in Rural Missouri" by Harold F. Kaufman, now at the University of Kentucky, has recently been published. This bulletin is the second in a Health series planned in the department of Rural Sociology.

**University of Tulsa.** An experimental field trip in Urban Sociology was made in August of this year under the direction of Sandor Kovacs, Chairman of the Department. The trip, which lasted 19

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days, was made by 25 students. On the 4,000 mile trip St. Louis, Missouri, Chicago, Pittsburgh, New York and Washington, D.C. were studied. *The City* by Queen and Thomas was used as reference, supplemented by lectures given by Dr. Roland Usher of Washington University in St. Louis, Dr. Joseph Novotny in New York City, Professor M. Graham Netting of Pittsburgh University in Pittsburgh, the lecture tours of Hull House and Lincoln Center in Chicago, Greenwich House, Riverside Church in New York, The Carnegie-Illinois Steel Mill in Pittsburgh, and the lectures given by the director. Eighty hours in actual class attendance were spent on the course, for which three semester hours of credit were given. The cost to the student was \$180.00, including everything but food and incidental expenses.

**University of Wisconsin.** Howard Becker will be on research leave the second semester 1946-47, to complete a volume on "Mental Mobility in the Hellenic World." His place will be taken by Alexander von Schelting, formerly editor of the *Archives of Social Science and Social Policy*, Heidelberg. He is being brought to Wisconsin under the Karl Schurz Memorial Fund of the University of Wisconsin and will offer courses as well as public lectures in social theory and the sociology of knowledge. The English edition of Becker's *German Youth—Bond or Free* has just been published by Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., Ltd. An American edition will appear later, issued by the Oxford University Press.

W. W. Howells has returned after being connected with Naval Intelligence during the war in which work he was awarded a citation for exceptionally meritorious service. His volume, *Man-kind So Far* was reprinted as an Armed Services Edition.

Scudder Mekeel was employed during the summer by several industrial concerns to apply anthropological methods to various of their industrial problems. Mekeel was also consultant on the *Fortune* survey of anti-Semitism which appeared in the February issue.

Two recent appointments have been made to the department. Marshall B. Clinard has been appointed an Associate Professor and will teach the courses in criminology and social pathology and will be associated with Carl E. Johnson in the recently announced curricula in correctional administration. Clinard formerly taught at the University of Iowa and Vanderbilt University and was connected with the Bureau of the Census and the Enforcement Department of the Office of Price Administration in Washington, D.C. Richard A. Hornseth has been appointed instructor in sociology.

John W. Teter has been appointed as lecturer in sociology and Anthony G. Weinlein as a part-time instructor in sociology in the Milwaukee Extension Division of the University of Wisconsin.

**Wayne University.** Maurice T. Price, formerly of the University of Illinois, has joined the staff as an associate professor of sociology. Stephen W. Mamchur, formerly with O.W.I. in Washington and the College of St. Thomas in St. Paul, has been appointed assistant professor of sociology. William Josiah Goode, formerly of Pennsylvania State College, has been appointed assistant professor of sociology. Henry A. Baker, formerly of Union College, Schenectady, and the Yale Institute of Human Relations, has been appointed instructor in sociology and anthropology.

Norman Daymond Humphrey has been promoted to the rank of associate professor of sociology and anthropology. Melvin M. Tumin has been promoted to assistant professor of sociology and anthropology.

The following teaching fellows have been appointed for the fall 1946-1947 term: James B. McKee, Richard V. Marks, Chris Piluras, Irving Rosow, and Lester F. Schmidt.

#### CHARLES ABRAM ELLWOOD, 1873-1946

Charles Abram Ellwood, former president of the American Sociological Society and a pioneer in American sociology, died at his home in Durham, North Carolina, September 25, 1946, a little more than a year after the death of his wife, Ida B. Ellwood. He leaves one son, Walter B. Ellwood of New York City, and two grandchildren.

Dr. Ellwood was born January 20, 1873 on a farm in northern New York near Ogdenburg. During his undergraduate years at Cornell he came under the influence of Professor Edward A. Ross who took a personal interest in him and persuaded him to follow a career in sociology rather than in law. At Cornell Dr. Ellwood also was influenced by Professor Walter Willcox but reacted against Willcox's insistence upon the statistical method in the social sciences. He wrote his bachelor's thesis under Professor J. W. Jenks on the subject, "The Social Sciences as a Basis for a Science of Ethics," a subject which continued to be his main interest for the rest of his life.

Dr. Ellwood entered upon graduate study at the University of Chicago in 1896. At Chicago he was influenced by the work he had with Professors Small, Henderson, Vincent, Thomas Mead and especially John Dewey. Graduate work at Chicago was interrupted by a year of study in German universities where he met and studied under such men as Schmoller, Simmel, and Paulsen. Unlike most other American sociologists who studied in Germany, Ellwood reacted against Simmel's formal sociology although

"some of his ideas," he said, "I found very stimulating." In Paulsen, however, Ellwood found a teacher very sympathetic to the idea that ethics should seek its basis in the social sciences. Returning to the University of Chicago Ellwood completed his work for Ph.D. degree in 1899. His thesis, "Some Prolegomena to Social Psychology," was published in the *American Journal of Sociology*.

Dr. Ellwood began his teaching career as a lecturer in sociology at the University of Nebraska while serving as secretary of a charity organization in Lincoln. In 1900 he moved to the University of Missouri where he organized a department of sociology stressing sociology in its social psychological aspects. Ellwood regarded his work in social psychology, or "psychological sociology," as he preferred to call it, as a continuation of the viewpoint of Dewey. In 1904 he served as chairman of the Section on Social Psychology of the Congress of Arts and Science held in connection with the World's Fair at St. Louis. From this time on he was increasingly influenced by Cooley.

The year 1914-15 was spent in England in association with Marett at Oxford and Hobhouse at the University of London. Marett greatly strengthened Dr. Ellwood's growing interest in anthropology and ethnology and Hobhouse reinforced his faith in the social sciences as a foundation for the rational good. These influences upon Ellwood's thinking, coupled with the first World War then raging in Europe, led him to take a strongly pacifist position with reference to international problems, a position which he continued to hold throughout the recent war.

At the invitation of President Few, Dr. Ellwood came to Duke University in 1930. He retired as chairman of the Department of Sociology at Duke in 1944.

During a long career of fifty years as sociologist and educator Professor Ellwood held many honors and published many notable books. He served many years as national president of Pi Gamma Mu, a social science fraternity which he helped organize. He was president of the American Sociological Society in 1924; president of the International Congress of Sociology at Brussels in 1935; president of the International Institute of Sociology the year 1935-36. His *Sociology and Modern Social Problems*, first published in 1910, was widely used as a text in high schools and colleges and contributed greatly to the popularization of sociology in

the United States. Other works include: *Sociology in Its Psychological Aspects* (1912), *The Social Problem* (1915), *Introduction to Social Psychology* (1917), *The Reconstruction of Religion* (1922), *Christianity and the Social Sciences* (1923), *Psychology of Human Society* (1925), *Cultural Evolution* (1925), *Man's Social Destiny in the Light of Science* (1929), *Methods in Sociology* (1933), *A History of Social Philosophy* (1938), and *The World's Need of Christ* (1940). In addition, Dr. Ellwood contributed numerous articles to the various sociological journals in this country as well as abroad.

Dr. Ellwood's fundamental interest in good citizenship led him to prefer teaching to research. He crusaded mightily for his ideal of world citizenship and he conceived of sociology as worth little if it were not directly instrumental to that end. He had very little patience with those who would make sociology a natural science.

EDGAR T. THOMPSON

Duke University

#### ERNEST R. GROVES, 1877-1946

Ernest Rutherford Groves, professor of sociology, University of North Carolina, died August 29, 1946 at Arlington, Massachusetts. He had just completed summer teaching at Boston University.

Professor Groves' career helps to show how the richness and diversity of American life has contributed to the development of sociology. His father came to this country from England at the age of ten and became a skilled textile foreman. Young Groves grew up in a characteristic New England textile town, had more than his share of childhood illness; and broke away to attend college. Like Sumner, he too decided to study theology, although it is an open question whether he ever intended to enter the ministry. After a year at the Theology Seminary at Bangor, Maine, he transferred to the Yale Seminary. There he heard much talk of "Billy" Sumner but never attended his classes. After his divinity degree in 1901, Groves went to Dartmouth where the able young student was awarded the A.B. *summa cum laude*, 1903.

At the newly revived University of New Hampshire Groves first headed the English department and then moved to philosophy and psychology where he deliberately introduced the first course in sociology under the rubric, "social psychology." By 1909 he had founded the de-

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partment of sociology which he headed, along with the Deanship of the Arts college (1914-1920), until he left to accept the chair of sociology at Boston University (1920-1927).

Early in life, both in high school and as a student preacher, Groves discovered that facility in speaking and writing which later was to do so much to popularize the cause of family sociology. His first major interest was revealed in an article on the implication of Freud for sociology ("Sociology and Psycho-analytic Psychology") accepted by Small for the *American Journal*, July, 1916. This article led President Dealey to request Groves to organize a round table on psychoanalysis at the Fifteenth Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Society. Groves was led to this speciality partly by his contact as Dean with the problems of psychopathic students.

His bibliography shows that, while *Moral Sanitation*, a somewhat psychiatric treatment published in 1916, was Groves' first book, he soon turned to the psychic aspects of rural life. His many articles in the field impressed President Kenyon L. Butterfield of Massachusetts State College who invited Groves to organize a department of rural sociology at that institution. Groves later repudiated his book, *The Rural Mind and Social Welfare* (1922) because of its dependence on the instinct hypothesis of William McDougall.

In 1923 he returned to a sounder psychology with the publication of *Personality and Social Adjustment*, an integration of the work of Freud, Adler and Jung from the point of view of sociology. This interest in social psychiatry remained throughout his career and led him to write the first text, entitled *Mental Hygiene*, (1930) with a former student, Dr. Phyllis Blanchard. Leading psychiatrists, William A. White and Frankwood Williams, remained his friends from this early period.

Groves' interest in the development of his special field came gradually. At Boston University he first developed the course in preparation for family life of which the volume, *Social Problems of the Family* (1926), was an outgrowth. A heavy load of teaching interfered with his opportunities for writing and counseling, and in 1927 he accepted an opportunity to go to the University of North Carolina as a research professor. The senior men had petitioned for a college course in preparation for marriage and, with the backing of President Harry W. Chase and Howard W. Odum, Groves

entered on this academic innovation in 1927. It grew until sections were added for senior women, an assistant was secured and a joint program with Duke University set up (1937-1942). To aid the introduction of such courses elsewhere, he published a text, *Marriage*, in 1933. At North Carolina Groves integrated his work with that of physicians, psychiatrists and lawyers, working closely with the personnel of the Duke Medical School and the Legal Aid Clinic. When this joint program was terminated, the course was integrated with the social work division at North Carolina.

Groves was always careful to point out to his students the relatively unprotected status of the sociologist in this field. The counsel of physicians and lawyers, he pointed out, are privileged in law, but any sociologist advising divorce may be liable to damage suit brought by the other party. A sizeable group of Professor Groves' students went into counselling, but a greater total impress came from the seminars on the family through which each generation of graduate students in sociology passed at North Carolina.

Every pioneer encounters dangers and raises up criticism. This is not strange. The strange thing is that Groves was able to achieve his goals in a difficult field with so few repercussions. College administrators feared frank discussions of sex and yet supported his programs. Local wits gave Dr. Groves such cryptic titles as the Pelvic Oracle, but all classes from the Negro janitor in his building to prominent people from far places were known to consult him. To generations of graduate students who had had no opportunity to specialize in the field, Groves brought brilliant interpretations of the new psychology and social psychiatry in the emotional contacts of the family group. He remained something of a New England individualist to the end, and those of Marxist or other persuasions who looked for social action in his teaching were usually brought back to considerations of individual adjustment.

RUPERT B. VANCE

University of North Carolina

EDWARD Y. HARTSHORNE, 1912-1946

On August 30 Edward Y. Hartshorne, Jr., while driving on the highway between Munich and Nuremberg, Germany, was shot and instantly killed. Though there was no political significance in the murder, Hartshorne was a true martyr to the cause of applied social sci-



ence. He was serving as university officer for the American Military Government in the State of Greater Hesse. In this capacity he had the opportunity to apply his broad knowledge of general social science and his special knowledge of universities and higher education, a field in which he had specialized since his Doctor's thesis entitled *German Universities and National Socialism*.

After a distinguished career as an undergraduate concentrating in sociology at Harvard, Hartshorne went to the University of Chicago where he was the first to receive the Doctor's Degree in a new program for graduate study in the History of Science and Learning. In the course of this study he went to Germany to gather the data on which he based his Doctor's thesis. Hartshorne returned to Harvard as Instructor in Sociology, and served in that capacity until he went to Washington in the Fall of 1941, as one of the early group in the Office of the Coordinator of Information.

After a period of service in the Coordinators Office, Hartshorne transferred to the Office of War Information. He was soon sent on their Foreign Service, first to North Africa, and then to Italy. His interest in German problems was continued, however, in that he was particularly charged with the study of the political attitudes

of German prisoners of war in the Mediterranean Theatre. He was later transferred to the European Theatre as a member of the Staff of the Psychological Warfare Division under SHAEF, and there had much to do with the political intelligence work of that division. After the fall of Germany, he became attached to Military Government, finally working into the job which he held at the time of his death.

The career which ended so tragically was a particularly significant career in modern American sociology. It combined an avid interest in theoretical problems and a thorough grounding at this level of study with an equally passionate concern for practical problems and the application of social science knowledge to their solution. He was also a pioneer in development of sociological study of a foreign nation and its culture, in this case, of course, our enemy in time of serious crisis. He was thus in the vanguard of one of the most important modern developments of social science. He will long be remembered by his colleagues and students as one of the most enthusiastic, many-sided, and promising of the younger sociologists of his generation.

TALCOTT PARSONS

*Harvard University*

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## BOOK REVIEWS



*Voluntary Health Agencies.* By SELSKAR M. GUNN and PHILIP S. PLATT. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1945. 364 pp. \$3.00.

There are twenty thousand non-profit voluntary health agencies in the United States that collect \$50,000,000 annually in addition to the American Red Cross, which from the time the war began until May, 1945 raised \$654,000,000. These agencies utilize the voluntary services and channelize the idealism of hundreds of thousands of persons. They have a vast potentiality for social good through stimulating scientific advance, and through educating the community, not only in the concepts and techniques of the promotion of health and in the prevention and control of disease, but in methods of group participation in community action programs. It is a matter of considerable importance therefore whether these agencies are efficient or wasteful in exploiting creatively the goals for which they have been established.

The book under review presents the findings of a three-year study under the auspices of the National Health Council financed by the Rockefeller Foundation. In spite of its subdued formulations and its desire to give credit wherever possible, it shows the gross wastefulness of the present set-up, and the unevenness of development and achievements of specific agencies. The report indicates that because of deplorable lack of planning, the absence of centralized organization and of competent direction and leadership, community health needs are not adequately met by these agencies in spite of their vast expenditures. The separate, expensive, competitive, emotion-laden money-raising appeals which yield funds for dramatic illness and neglect some of the more important chronic illnesses are particularly criticized. It is recommended that the health agencies which grew spontaneously and independently around specialized needs now co-ordinate their activities through health councils, and that the agencies which are successful in fund-raising enlarge the scope of their activities.

Many stringent though friendly criticisms and constructive recommendations for the im-

provement of voluntary agencies are here proposed. The manner in which the agencies respond to these proposals will be a measure of their flexibility and their social responsibility. The recent attack on the effectiveness of the medical services of the Veterans Administration has led to drastic improvements. Will voluntary agencies prove to be as adaptable as a vast government agency has been?

Apart from the value to sociologists of its data on an important social issue, the book offers good case material on functioning of groups in the context of American culture, in spite of a tendency toward overschematization in the presentation of the findings.

BERNHARD J. STERN

*Columbia University*

*How We Influence One Another.* By VINCENT V. HERR. Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1945. 266 pp. \$2.25.

Although the title sounds Dale Carnegieish, this small volume by Father Herr has both sociological behavior modes and utilitarian aims. The author attempts to discover uniform modes of behavior peculiar to human beings who live in association with others, and offers insight as to how the "good of the individual and that of the group" may be achieved. After criticising the extant literature in social psychology from the instinctivists up to topologists, he finds refuge and complete satisfaction in Thomistic universal norms.

The book is a light survey of the current representative writings with regard to the nature of human personality and its acquisition in a facile manner. After presenting the relation of social psychology to ethics, the physical and the biological sciences, a brief historical background is offered in the methods of investigation. In chapter three is considered the behavior of the group with a violent reaction against the thesis of "the exaggerated groupists." Primary, secondary, as well as transitory groups are considered in connection with the role of the leader in the latter category. Chapter four is devoted to *Social Learning* in which trial and

error, imitation, circular reflex schemes find an ally in "insight and reflection" as methods of learning. This learning by insight is considered as the "typically human prerogative" (p. 79). The author in the next chapter makes a distinction between "motives" and the "motivating factors," the latter being "all such other forces or tendencies within a person" (p. 83) among which are included "innate" or "instinctive" tendencies. Affective Social Life is treated in chapter six in terms of the emotions. Fear, anger and rage, likes and dislikes, attraction and aversion are given as the "primitive and crude" emotions whereas the human emotions include sympathy, love, enthusiasm, and morale. Social Temperament and Social Disposition in chapter seven after meandering in the morass of "tests" plunges into the consideration of suggestibility, gestures and language next. These techniques of communication are treated in terms of their "moral" implications in the development of attitudes. Chapter ten is devoted to the Social Relevance of Attitudes wherein everything is measured normatively according to socially approved or disapproved criteria. The last chapter is climaxed with the consideration of Human Nature and Desirable or Approved Personality. The author warns his readers that "instead of trying to define personality in purely social terms, we should define it on a basis of sound philosophical principles regarding universal human nature" (p. 211). Among some selected traits in desirable personality he finds the following: intelligence and imagination, energy and tenacity, self-assurance and decisiveness, sociability and progressiveness, sublimation of desires and altruism. This universal norm is offered against any situational, relativistic norms, so consistently advanced by most social psychologists, sociologists, cultural anthropologists, and even by certain contemporary philosophers.

Throughout the volume, in spite of references to standardized texts in the field, the author maintains a voluntaristic, moralistic viewpoint. References to moral agent, moral worth, moral value, moral obligations, moral quality, morally good, morally bad, true reward, responsible agent, and worthwhile ideals recur so often that the reader becomes morality-conscious. The author paints an anti-groupist picture so boldly that the group conditioning is adjudged to be an "undemonstrable assumption" (p. 38).

This book is decidedly biased in spite of the scientific frills. Quotations are few but the

references are fairly extensive. An annotated bibliography of thirty-six works at the end of the text is helpful but the classification of the authors could not be acceptable. Also summaries for "accelerated reading" at the end of each chapter and review questions are mechanically helpful devices. However, in spite of a tone of preachiness no direct application as to techniques of modification of human behavior are offered, and the concepts of personality and individuality are confused. W. I. Thomas is misquoted as having advocated the "wish for novelty" instead of the wish for new experience, and Mukerjee is misspelled twice. In the presentation of this work although the hand is that of Esau (scientific) the voice is that of Jacob (scholastic).

SAMUEL HAIG JAMESON

*University of Oregon*

*Toward Improving Ph.D. Programs.* By ERNEST V. HOLLIS. Washington, D.C. American Council on Education, 1945. Pp. xii + 204. \$2.50.

This volume prepared for the Commission on Teacher Education surveys the history of the Ph.D. degree and the employment of Ph.D.'s. It presents employers' suggestions for improvement of Ph.D. training and opinions of Ph.D. holders concerning the training they received. Data concerning Ph.D.'s graduating during the decade 1930-1940 are assembled and analyzed. The book is evaluative in the best sense and provides important suggestions and needed perspective for those administering graduate work.

Finding the dual origin of the Ph.D. in the German university with its emphasis on initiative, self-direction and self-reliance, and the undergraduate American college and university to which the Ph.D. has been an appendage, often directly reflecting values governing undergraduate study in the sciences and arts, he traces the degree through four historic periods. The first period pre-dates the founding of the Johns Hopkins University as a full-fledged graduate school in 1876; the pioneer period dates from 1876 to 1900, the era of standardization from 1900 to 1918, and the period of quantitative expansion from World War I.

Prior to 1876 the Doctor's degree was more frequently awarded on an honorary than on an earned basis. Some universities conferred both the honorary and the earned degree. With the founding of Johns Hopkins began the long attempt to establish the degree on a sound scholarly basis. This was finally achieved during

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the era of standardization which brought into being the Association of American Universities, National Association of State Universities, Association of Land Grant Colleges and Universities and the American Association of University Professors.

Between the two wars the phenomenal increase in graduate enrollments was a major factor in modifying degree requirements. This necessitated the offering of the Ph.D. in many new fields, which were not formerly considered research fields in the traditional sense, and brought other modifications in degree requirements. This same period saw the shifting of research from the single focus of the university laboratory to governmentally endowed and commercial agencies, and the emergence of the struggle for control of research between public and private enterprises. These combined factors have been responsible for the clash between traditional standards and the new vocationally oriented Ph.D. training program.

The body of the book is derived from data secured from 94 of the 96 graduate schools that awarded the Ph.D. degree during the 1930's. These tabulations answer most of the questions one might wish to ask about the 22,509 persons who received the Ph.D. degree during the 1930's and who were living in September 1940—degrees granted by institutions and departments, present employment by types of employing agency, present employment of graduates of various institutions by fields of specialization, regional distribution of graduates and their interregional mobility, kinds and levels of teaching and distribution of employment between research, teaching and administration.

An evaluation of the Ph.D.'s by employers, lay and academic, is presented. The chapter on lay employers is generalized and derived primarily from the National Resources Planning Board report rather than from direct contact with industrial employers. That of academic employers is derived from reports received from graduate deans, college presidents, college staff members and public school employers of Ph.D.'s. In all, 204 individuals representing 43 states reported. The predominant criticism of Ph.D.s by academic employers centers about their lack of social development, that is, their lack of ability to work and live cooperatively, to assume social responsibility. While suggestions for improvement of graduate training to build for a more rounded personality are given, no adequate solution is presented. Some suggest

group living arrangements for the graduate group as a possibility. Another dissatisfaction expressed by academic employers is with placement facilities for graduate students. The author feels that this reflects primarily inadequacies in the graduate training program itself.

The opinion of graduates concerning their training is derived from secondary sources and report primarily attitudes of Ph.D.'s established in the academic profession. In general they were satisfied with their training and found it useful.

The final chapter dealing with suggestions for improving Ph.D. programs is full of challenging suggestions and evaluations. In general they are built about the two following propositions, (1) the doctor's program must be oriented to the use to which the candidate puts the degree as he enters the active scene of American life, (2) "the graduate school must function as an integrated organism" rather than an aggregate of competing departments. Most emphasis is on the first point. Here the author challenges the traditional language requirement as inappropriate to many new fields in which the Ph.D. is given, and calls for diversification in training programs to meet vocationally oriented training needs. At the extremes are English which places 85 per cent of its Ph.D.'s in academic positions and chemistry which places only 34 per cent of its graduates in academic positions and 59 per cent in nonacademic careers.

PAUL H. LANDIS

*State College of Washington*

*The Psychological Frontiers of Society.* By ABRAM KARDINER with the collaboration of RALPH LINTON, CORA DU BOIS and JAMES WEST. New York: Columbia University Press, 1945. 475 + xxiv pp. \$5.00.

The creation of a social science which would integrate the many and varied fragments of knowledge produced by the specialists in the now compartmentalized social sciences has been and is a goal which has beckoned to many distinguished students of human behavior. Most of the efforts made toward the attainment of such a goal have met with indifferent success and the development of an over-all social science is still in the future. As a result, any attempt to lay the foundations upon which such a social science might rest is worthy of serious study by all social scientists. *The Psychological Frontiers of Society* is such an attempt and it is the second monograph authored by Dr. Kardiner (the first was *The Individual and His Society*,

published in 1939) which brings together the data of anthropology, sociology and psychology and the method of psychoanalysis into an integrated and comprehensive description of human personality.

The primary concept to which are oriented the data presented in the book is that of basic personality types. This fundamental concept is derived from looking at the adult person as the product of the interaction of the human organism and culture. Kardiner and Linton assume that childhood experiences exert a lasting influence upon the individual's personality and that most of these childhood experiences are produced by the methods used in caring for the child. Since the techniques employed in child care are generally culturally determined the children in any specific culture will tend to undergo similar experiences and to develop similar personality configurations. Furthermore, since cultures differ the personality configurations of individuals reared in different cultures will also differ.

In *The Psychological Frontiers of Society*, as in *The Individual and His Society*, Kardiner and his associates set about to test the hypotheses upon which the concept of basic personality types rests. The testing is done by the presentation of (a) brief although adequate summaries of selected cultures; (b) several personality studies of individuals produced by the cultures summarized; (c) psycho-analytical studies of the materials presented in a and b. The cultures summarized in the book under review are: The Comanche; The Alorese; Plainville, U.S.A. These three cultures furnish Dr. Kardiner with data for his analyses out of which grow the concept of basic personality structure of the bulk of individuals born and reared in each of the cultures studied. It is at this point that questions may arise regarding the appropriateness of the analyses made. This is not to say that Dr. Kardiner has erred but rather to point to the fact that his analyses are derived by the use of a method which by its very character puts a limit upon the number of students who can retrace Dr. Kardiner's steps. Dr. Kardiner's method is psychoanalytical and only those trained in psychoanalysis can judge the soundness of Dr. Kardiner's analyses; consequently, the conclusions formulated by such analyses must perforce arouse some doubt as to their complete acceptability. That Dr. Kardiner is aware of this is abundantly evident. In fact he writes, "my serious handicap in this work has been that, as far as the technical end of the

work is concerned, I have had to work completely alone, without benefit of discussion with my fellow psychiatrists. Their avoidance of the problems connected with this work has been due largely to the fact that they regard it as 'sociology' and hence not worthy of attention" (p. xix).

In spite of this lack, Dr. Kardiner's book must be considered not only as a distinguished contribution to methodology, but also as signaling an important first step in the integration of the data of anthropology, psychology and sociology into a comprehensive concept of human personality. It merits serious study by all students of human behavior.

E. D. MONACHESI

University of Minnesota

*Problemas Demografiques Contemporains.* By JACQUES LAMBERT and L. A. COSTA PINTO. (Vol. 1) Rio de Janeiro: Atlantica Editora, 1944. 258 pp. no price indicated.

The title of this volume well describes the task undertaken and the job accomplished. It is a concise and accurate presentation of the facts of demography in the world of today with a minimum of speculating and theorizing about them. It deals first with the growth of population in the modern world, its distribution in time and space, its density in the different parts of the world and the changes in urban and rural proportions. This is followed by a description of the make-up or composition of populations in which sex and age differences are given chief emphasis. This background being prepared, birth rates and fertility are discussed at some length with emphasis on the differences in composition associated with different birth rates. Death rates and differences between them in different populations are then set forth after which the balance of births and deaths is treated. The book closes with a statement of the meaning of reproduction rates and some discussion of the paradox that in much of the Western World we now have a birth rate too low to provide for the maintenance of present numbers while at the same time we have a fairly large excess of births over deaths. This paradox bothers the authors a great deal and they devote several pages to explaining why it should not confuse people in their thinking about population policies. From the space devoted to this point they apparently believe that the layman will find it difficult to understand how we can have more births than deaths and still be in danger of a declining population in the near future. The

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reviewer had not supposed that this would be so difficult a point for the man in the street to grasp but the authors clearly do not share this view.

This book brings together much useful demographic information and does it well. The tables and graphs are simple and clear and assist materially in giving the reader an understanding of essential demographic facts. It is to be hoped that it will receive wide circulation but the fact that it is written in French rather than in Portuguese or Spanish will probably limit its usefulness in Latin America and will do but little to increase it in North America and Europe.

WARREN S. THOMPSON

*Scripps Foundation*

*Adolescence and Youth.* By PAUL H. LANDIS.  
New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company,  
Inc., 1945. 470 pp. \$3.75.

The maladjustments of the not-yet-adults first became sufficiently acute to be defined as a *youth problem* in the depression decade of the thirties. Even then the phenomenon was largely restricted to urban-industrial America.

The central theme which threads together this loosely knit treatise on adolescence and youth is as follows: To understand the behavior of youth we must shift our focus from the internal physiological forces to the social forces that impinge upon the developing organism, that motivate, activate and mold him. Youth does not *mature* really, he is *matured* by his experiences, molded and processed for adult responsibilities. Landis works at this thesis through twenty-one chapters which divide into sections covering Biology, Social Structure and Personality; Attaining Moral Maturity; The Transition to Marital Adulthood; The Struggle for Economic Adulthood; and Adolescents and Youth in the School.

*Adolescence and Youth* describes the special obstacles adolescents are meeting, the deficiencies of the institutions society has formed to serve youth and finally lists recommendations for a reorganization of these institutions. Adolescents have the same goals as adults; namely, to attain moral, marital and economic competence. Indeed that concept is involved in the sociological definition of the adolescent-youth period, "that period in life when the individual is in the process of transfer from the dependent, irresponsible age of childhood to the self-reliant responsible age of adult; the uncertain period when parents begin to relax their hold and

shift responsibility from their own shoulders to those of their offspring and during which the maturing child seeks new freedom and in finding it becomes accountable to society." A special contribution is the summary of adolescent-youth studies in primitive societies, and a series of comparisons and contrasts between the social habitats of urban, town, and farm adolescents. In general, Landis finds rural children receive inferior preparation for all aspects of adult life, vocational, familial and communal.

The author documents his major claims from research studies and surveys of fairly recent date: The White House Conference reports, the New York State Regents Inquiry, the Progressive Education Association and National Education Association studies of youth in secondary schools, the youth studies of the American Youth Commission and of the FERA and WBA research divisions, and of the agricultural experiment stations and extension divisions. In addition, the author dips into his collection of several hundred freshman autobiographies for illustration purposes. It is in his uncritical and slanted use of case histories that his psychology critics will find him most vulnerable.

Landis's approach is refreshing and his position is well taken. He is following trails already blazed by others in articles and research studies without appearing to notice that others too have traveled this way. His analysis would have been sharpened in a few instances by incorporation of their findings. Cook, Davis, Lindeman, Newstetter, Redl, Slavson, and Tryon are all fellow travelers whose work was given scant attention or no mention at all. Progressive education, social group work and the new penology are all fields which have incorporated the approach Landis has taken. Tryon's study of peer culture to take only one example, answers questions Landis has raised in his discussion of adolescent-parent revolt and adolescent-teacher conflict, pp. 150-151 and 380-383.

Landis does his most brilliant work in his description of the forces in the social structure which create the adolescent-youth problem. His most controversial topic is the treatment of questions of morality and moral maturity. In both instances, his empathy for youth is exceptional. He takes a permissive attitude toward that ancient game with the modern name, "necking," and asserts that the morality of modern youth must be a rationalized, intelligent morality rather than a more or less unconscious acceptance of the sex mores. He places too much faith in a rational approach to moral



questions. Moral convictions are learned emotionally or they fail to control the individual. Marriage educators, in this connection, will applaud Landis's recommendation to revamp the school's curriculum to help youth with moral questions, with problems of mate selection, and to prepare him for marriage and parenthood.

In appraising *Adolescence and Youth: The Process of Maturing*, it is difficult to know what criteria to use. Nowhere does Landis explain specifically who his audience is. If the book is to be used as a college text it passes muster creditably. It is readable and meets issues frankly. Students who plan to teach in secondary schools shouldn't miss reading it. If, on the other hand, the book is meant as a treatise on the sociology of adolescence in a field heretofore preempted by psychologists, we would have been better served by a more considered, less hurried, less diffuse product. Shall we say, it is more provocative than definitive!

REUBEN HILL

Iowa State College

*Civilization and Group Relationships*. By R. M. MACIVER (editor). New York: Harper and Brothers, 1945. 177 pp. \$2.00.

The Institute for Religious Studies has been carrying on a significant experiment under the guidance of Professor MacIver who has directed a series of lectures, already published in several volumes, on the sociological basis of group tensions especially as related to the problems of unity and brotherhood. This particular volume contains thirteen studies concentrated on group prejudices, tensions and discriminations in American Society as applied to social education, culture clash, social status, economic advantage, industry, religion and "The Ordering of a Multi-group Society." In the light of these analyses, MacIver concludes that "we can certainly claim that the greatest peril of modern society is the exclusiveness of group against group, by means of which the stronger groups prevent the weaker from sharing the benefits and the opportunities of the community, by reason of which the stronger grow proud and intolerant and prejudiced, denying their common humanity, while the less advantaged group becomes bitter and frustrated. Thus on all sides rancor and cleavage increase, and the energies of men are turned from creativeness to destructiveness, from co-operative gain to universal loss."

As always, such a co-operative symposium is bound to have chapters which are either better

or worse than the others. In this particular case, the editor has the honor of presenting two of the best chapters here: "The Need for a Change of Attitude," and "The Ordering of a Multi-group Society." MacIver has a special ability too rare in most sociologists: he succeeds in tying up the sociological "what is" to a reasonable and well-thought out set of "what ought to be." In other words, MacIver is a practical sociologist who never degenerates into being a wordy preacher. That may be no compliment to him; but *Civilization and Group Relationships* stands out because of the able application of this virtue of MacIver.

JOSEPH S. ROUCEK

Hofstra College

*Community Organization for Social Welfare*. By WAYNE McMILLEN. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945. 658 pp. \$4.75.

A book on community organization for social welfare, by one who has helped more social workers in the past two decades to see their part in the broader social milieu than perhaps any other teacher in our country, is a milestone in social work literature. Professor McMillen has written a very readable treatise, well documented and of great value to teachers in this field, as well as to the public spirited citizen interested in developments in private and public social work.

The first half of the book treats of community organization as a process in social work. Chapters are devoted to different steps in organization. Each chapter is followed by documents which the author has assembled from various sources. These add much to the value of the volume.

Mr. McMillen discusses the relation of social case work to community organization. He argues for the expansion of the case worker's relation to community organization and the continuous responsibility of social workers for the co-ordination of all resources. Social case records he believes could well be of greater value in research on community needs. One of the major problems in the social welfare field is the discovery of ways in which facts known to social case workers can be shared with other groups of citizens. Involved in this is the relation of social welfare agencies, both private and public, to the larger community.

In developing this important problem in social welfare organization and administration the author emphasizes the necessity for defining

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one's community in broad terms. He discusses methods of utilizing volunteers, clients, churches, cultural groupings, and labor in the program of the agency. The social welfare program, regardless of its source of support, should have as broad a backing in the community as possible.

The latter part of the book is devoted to the complex organization of social welfare activities on the city, state and national levels. This the author terms "structure," and outlines the present efforts at co-ordination and co-operation as well as community planning. The problems involved in developing better integrated financing policies and more adequate social planning are examined.

As in the earlier chapters documents either as a whole or in part are assembled after each chapter. These are of special value to the student and frequently expand the author's discussion, presenting various points of view.

Professor McMillen writes not only as a teacher but as an administrator in various agencies through the years. His approach to local problems as well as national is based on first-hand experience. His discussion of social welfare problems and his compilation of source material are a real addition to social welfare literature.

WALTER W. PETTIT

*New York School of Social Work*

*Organized Labor*. Volume III of the *Economics of Labor*. By HARRY A. MILLIS and ROYAL E. MONTGOMERY. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1945. 930 pp. \$6.00.

In the three volume series which has just been completed by the publication of *Organized Labor*, Professors Millis and Montgomery have given us the most comprehensive account of American labor since the famous historical work of John R. Commons and his associates. The present work deals with history, structure, dominant practices and controls.

In addition to its contribution to labor economics, this particular volume is of special interest to sociologists, for it makes easily available a dependable body of concrete data for the study of several important sociological problems and corresponding hypotheses.

For example, do social movements tend to pass through identifiable, uniform life-cycles? American trade union history as set forth by Millis and Montgomery seems to support the positive hypotheses of several well-known sociologists.

In what specific ways is group strength affected by changes in the general social situation (e.g., business cycle, war and peace, "new deal"), by changes in the make-up of the group (e.g., introduction of immigrants, unskilled workers, women), and by attacks from enemies (e.g., open-shop campaigns)? The data presented by the authors suggest that in the case of labor unions, at least, group strength (as indicated by memberships, funds, prestige and morale) fluctuates in close relation to the first set of factors. To be sure, Millis and Montgomery themselves do not make this generalization. But their material can be used in testing its validity.

What forces are involved in the elaboration of institutional structures? How are the various parts of such structure interrelated? The data made available here shed light on the role of the paid executive, the pressure from rank and file, general responsiveness to competition and other dynamic factors.

There are many other uses to which this detailed, well documented book can be put by students of sociology. Happily it has the added virtue of being well written and easy to read.

STUART A. QUEEN

*Washington University*

*Social Ecology*. By RADHAKAMAL MUKERJEE. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. 1945. Lucknow University Studies, India. Pp. XI + 364.

Ecology in its application to the human group provides the link between the study of culture and its biological aspects. The biological aspect constitutes the common ground, more and more cultivated by botanists, zoologists, and sociologists, between the ecology of plant and animal communities and human society. It is this common biological frame of reference within which Mukerjee, the noted Indian sociologist, attempts to outline what he distinctively calls *Social Ecology*. That is the comparative study of the concerted pursuit of biological aims, the attainment of optimum conditions for the safety and survival of aggregated organisms. In this attempt the author closely follows Park, McKenzie, and Burgess. The familiar concepts of ecology play a prominent role throughout the publication. Yet, Mukerjee extends his treatment beyond human society to include sub-human aggregations. "Human, plant, and animal communities make up by their reciprocal relationships a single unit of the living world,

which develops and evolves as a whole. It is for this reason that . . . ecology cannot properly be divided into plant, animal, and human ecology, but is in fact 'bio-ecology.' Indeed, the title of the book does not remain an empty promise but is carried out in the first part of the study.

Ecology is, however, only the point of departure. Since "culture," which Mukerjee (with Park) associates with the sphere of consensus and communication, is inseparable from the elementary biological aspects of interaction, Mukerjee's *Social Ecology* gradually expands into a comparative treatise on culture without easily discernible qualifications and limitations. It is this inclusive character of the book, particularly of its later chapters, which makes a summary digest rather difficult. The discussion covers a wide array of subjects, from agriculture and urbanism, social integration and anomie, elites, primary and secondary groups, Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft to regionalism, social planning, mobility, individualism, and nationalism. Noticeable emphasis is placed on the loss of values resulting from the weakening of the restraining influence of natural groupings, such as the village and the region, kinship and family, caste and elites.

The strength of the book lies in its consistently comparative orientation. The sections dealing with the social aspects of rice and wheat cultivation, the geography of human settlements, irrigation as an organizing factor, and colonization offer most delightful reading. The references to animal and plant life in the introduction of the more basic ecological concepts should not be missed by the reader. It appears on occasion that the author overemphasizes the contemporary role of the natural milieu—soil, climate, fauna and flora—and underestimates the increasing significance of the man-made environment. Perhaps the greatest obstacle to the thorough appreciation of the book which it unquestionably merits, is its loose organization which is somehow reminiscent of Sumner's *Folkways*.

ERNEST MANHEIM

University of Kansas City

*The Social Thought of American Catholics 1634-1829.* By CELESTINE JOSEPH NUESSE. Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1945. 315 pp. No price indicated.

This fluently written and well-documented study, a Ph.D. dissertation presented to the

Faculty of the School of Social Science at Catholic University, is Volume X of the Catholic University Studies in Sociology. In it, the author has "tried to read accurately the historical record of Catholics from the foundation of Maryland to the First Provincial Council of Baltimore in 1829" (Preface) from the viewpoint of social thought, using the latter concept as "admittedly a broad term, since it includes all thinking about human associations, as well as the informal and usually unarticulated assumptions implicit in customs, laws, and social institutions" (p. 1). The pertinence of the study lies in three areas: (1) the interest of sociologists in the social processes of conflict and accommodation as revealed in the history of the United States; (2) the desire of Catholics for background material in their study of contemporary developments in Catholic thought and action; (3) the discovery of relationships between religious beliefs and social thought (pp. 2, 3). The book is arranged in such a way that its material is related to general topics in American history such as the provincial developments, arguments for independence, the question of the constitution, the church and the frontier, nationalism, and humanitarianism. The bibliographical notes are very full, including references not only for the several chapters, but also a number of general and standard works.

The general conclusion of the author is that American Catholics in the period under discussion "maintained a social outlook best described as conformist" and that "Catholic contributions to social thought in the American colonies were almost exclusively individual in character" although there were some examples of social action, notably in connection with schools and charitable institutions (pp. 283, 286). It should be noted, however, that the individual activities of such men as Matthew Carey and his son, Henry, better known to sociologists, were by no means minor items in the general development of a critical social and economic thought.

Of special interest to sociologists in connection with the processes of conflict and accommodation are the insistence of the early Marylanders on full religious freedom; the dualistic attitude towards slavery by virtue of which, in general, the institution of slavery was recognized as theoretically not contrary to natural law providing the slaveowner acquired his dominion justly and exercised it with due regard for the slave's soul but in actuality was treated as an evil, unavoidable under the circumstances, but

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still an evil; the protests of early Catholic leaders against the growing "bourgeois" spirit of economic materialism, protests which waned as the Catholics became more and more involved with the growing business enterprise in America; and the tendency of early Catholics to reflect the attitudes of the social class to which they belonged rather than a distinctively Catholic attitude. On the other hand, the persistence of a well-integrated system of thought and of institutional organization is indicated by the activities of the church on the frontier and the gradual introduction of the hierarchy and of religious communities into the country. One is tempted to speculate on the changes in the development of religion in America that might have come if the mild nationalism in religious affairs advocated by the first Bishop of Baltimore, including the use of vernacular English in the liturgy, had been favorably received instead of being completely rejected.

The book is interesting and accurate. It covers a period in American history from a point of view that had been neglected, and it does it well.

MARSHALL E. JONES

*University of Wyoming*

*The Liberal Tradition.* By WILLIAM AYLOTT ORTON. Yale University Press, 1945. 317 pp. \$3.50.

This book is a learned and thoughtful study of the evolution of Liberalism and its threatened eclipse in our own day; a casualty resulting from the aberrations, contradictions, confusion and treachery of noisy and intolerant so-called Liberals. The volume skillfully combines the historical and analytical methods. The main stages in the growth of the liberal tradition are blocked out, and then the contributions of each epoch are carefully appraised and criticized.

Professor Orton phrases the need for a realistic study of Liberalism in our day in the following forceful and challenging fashion:

"The crying need of modern liberalism is for a clearer perception of principle. A great tradition, the oldest and richest in political history, is all but lost in a fog of careless words and empty phrases. Particularly in America, the term 'liberal' is being used to cover phrases ranging from nineteenth-century *laissez faire* to dictatorial collectivism; more, it is being deliberately misapplied by persons whose programs, whatever their merit, are in temper and outlook, as to means as well as ends, radically alien to the liberal tradition."

It is Professor Orton's purpose to let us know what the liberal tradition really is, how we came by it, what its present perils are, and who are its leading current enemies. He gives us a broad panorama of the conceptions of Liberalism, without hazarding any precise definition. But it is clear that he regards Liberalism as primarily a set of values, including such things as freedom, open-mindedness, tolerance, optimism, individualism and kindness. It is the basis of any community life worthy of cultivated human beings, and it has developed a venerable and worthy tradition, from the Greeks to those who are now slaying it, while calling upon its name to justify their murderous antics.

More than half of the text is devoted to the eras, forces and individuals that have, in one way or another, contributed to or helped to mold the liberal tradition. The Greeks contributed intellectual tolerance, the idea of the supremacy of law and limited government by consent. Christianity added natural law, universal conceptions of duty, human brotherhood and the like. The omnipotence of the national-state was promoted by Protestantism, Roman law, the growth of the conception of sovereignty and the rise of capitalism. Especially important was the emphasis on property as a first responsibility of law and government. The industrial revolution in Britain brought about *laissez faire* liberalism, and France contributed extreme individualism. The net result was a Liberalism corroded by extreme nationalism, secularism and materialism. The effort to infuse it with spirituality through a religious revival was frustrated by the rise of Positivism, Darwinism, utopianism and the worship of science and technology.

In the latter portion of his work, Professor Orton sounds the most important and serious note of disillusionment which has thus far appeared relative to the disastrous Globaloney and the apostasy of Liberals in the alleged cause of Liberalism during the last decade. It is the pioneer book of "Revisionism" to follow World War II; not revisionism in the sense of revised diplomatic history but, rather, in the revision and revaluation of broad principles of policy and conduct relative to public affairs.

As he points out, traditional and reputable Anglo-American Liberalism "rested on two fundamental principles: nonintervention in the internal affairs of other nations, and freedom of trade. These principles were explicitly recognized by liberal statesmen as complimentary to one another, being the negative and positive

conditions of peace and freedom. Their abandonment in our generation effectively dispelled the hope of either."

Beginning with Chapter XII, the material is a masterly, calm, thoughtful, but utterly devastating exposition and analysis of the frauds and fruits of the interventionism which has now wrecked western civilization in the name of multiple freedoms and the era of the common man. The propaganda frauds, such as the Atlantic Charter, the illusion that we can get peace through force, the futility of any world police force, the moral and institutional breakdown which has followed the War and Victory, and the like, are all neatly hung on the line for the critical appraisal of a disillusioned and more realistic generation. The effect is all the more appalling because Professor Oron does not rant. Neither is he an "Isolationist," whatever that term may mean. He believes in internationalism—in a functional internationalism which is frustrated by the power politics of political internationalism.

The author ends his book with a brief chapter on the present-day crisis in Liberalism which the Liberals have created by their apostasy. They now seek to solve the problems of this overwhelming crisis by the very phrases and methods which have already brought the world down about our ears. The fantastic idea of a great political superstate and a world policeman, in the international field, is matched at home by the concept of the "welfare state," of which Sir William Beveridge's Plan is the most heralded model. This "Managerial Leviathan" is a benign Fascist structure, minus its Fascist label and its Racism. The "Fruits of Victory" thus appear to be grandiose ideas of world dominion, the worst savagery and imbecility which ever followed a major war, and the choice between Communism and the slightly perfumed Fascism of the "Welfare State." Professor Orton is to be congratulated on his realism and his courage. He has let in a first whiff of sorely needed fresh air.

HARRY ELMER BARNES

Cooperstown, New York

*A Daughter of Han, The Autobiography of a Chinese Working Woman.* By IDA PRUITT. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945. 249 pp. \$2.75.

"I have had a full life. I have seen wonderful sights. . . . I have seen the great of this world and have eaten the food that was prepared

for them. I have suffered hunger and I have suffered the sight of my children sold. . . . I have always worn these peasant clothes. I am used to them now and cannot change."

Ning Lao T'ai-T'ai (Mrs. Ning), whose life history Miss Pruitt has recorded, is a Chinese of the servant class. Her story is told simply and often a little disjointedly as she recalls the varied events of her life. Married at an early age to an opium addict she was forced to become a beggar and then a domestic servant. Through all her difficulties she kept two of her children with her, arranging in time for their marriage and now in her old age she lives comfortably in her son's home. Mrs. Ning is a woman of vigor and determination. In her story can be seen many of the traits which so often have made the mother the central figure in the Chinese family.

Miss Pruitt, who was for many years a medical social worker in Peiping, speaks Chinese fluently and is thoroughly familiar with Chinese culture. Her contacts with Mrs. Ning were friendly and informal, averaging three meetings a week over a two-year period. The author has been very successful in preserving the feeling of many Chinese expressions and giving the story an intimate Chinese quality.

Judged by Dollard's *Criteria for the Life History* the account is defective in critical interpretation and in analysis of the dynamic factors of behavior, particularly in reference to early childhood. The chief value of the book lies in the vivid description which it gives of the life of the common people of a Chinese city. Several good studies of Chinese villages have been published in recent years but this is the first detailed life history of a Chinese individual. It is an excellent beginning and should be followed by studies of other individuals of different personality types and social classes.

PAUL FREDERICK CRESSEY

Wheaton College, Massachusetts

*"Off-the-Job Living."* By G. OTT ROMNEY. New York: A. S. Barnes & Co., Inc., 1945. 232 pp. \$2.75.

It is somewhat difficult to evaluate accurately the content of this book, largely because one cannot be quite sure to whom it is addressed. Certainly it has little or nothing for the specialist in recreation or group work; certainly nothing for the trained sociologist. By elimination it must aim at popular audiences or govern-

mental authorities. Its central theme constitutes the last sentence of the last chapter: "Recreation is as useless and unnecessary as a sunset and just as inevitable." Perhaps that indicates the type of reader sought for. The author makes it clear that recreation is not school playgrounds nor therapy, nor character building, nor group work, nor an antidote to delinquency; in short not a means to anything, but an end in itself. His argument for recreation as a community responsibility holds water. His plea for a federal office of recreation is decidedly open to debate. The chapter "Recreation goes to War" is informing and useful. As a safeguard against possible criticism the author specifically protects himself by strictly delimiting his discussion to the "interpretation of recreation as an individual necessity and a social force" and to "placing the responsibility for adequate recreational opportunity for all the people in society's lap." Hence his call for a Fifth Freedom, freedom to choose satisfactions for one's earned leisure. The sociologists, committed to the ideas of mores and social change may nevertheless be excused for feeling that Romney has applied his dictum, styles of conduct change, too superficially and flippantly, as if there are no eternal principles, standards or points of reference. And what more might you expect, he might well ask, when he finds that the author starts his book with an assumption which makes discussion pointless and his own work a gesture of futility? Here are the precise dicta (p. 1): "The human being in a very real sense is a glorified test-tube containing chemicals, subject to constant chemical reactions; . . . To defy one's chemistry is to invite inefficiency, to accelerate deterioration and to court eventual crack-up. . . . Even our outlooks are flavored and colored by our chemistry." As a voter or government agent I cannot work up much enthusiasm for asking taxpayers to go in for the titillation of "glorified test-tubes." How could the author seriously ask that we provide recreation as "nourishment for the spirit?" (p. 11). In spite of much common sense this work reveals some muddled thinking on fundamentals.

ARTHUR J. TODD

Washington, D.C.

*Food or Famine: The Challenge of Erosion.* By WARD SHEPARD. The Macmillan Company, 1945. Pp. ix + 225. 16 Plates; 2 Maps. \$3.00.

*Food or Famine* is a closely-written and logically developed volume on the challenge of

erosion. The author is the master of his subject, having graduated from the Harvard School of Forestry, and having made a special study of forest and conservation methods in Europe. He also has served in a number of responsible professional posts, including the Directorship of the Harvard Forest, membership on the Harvard School of Public Administration, and service in the U. S. Interior Department.

Shepard does vastly more than analyze the physical factors in erosion—a task that he performs with wisdom and skill. He shows the significance of erosion to human welfare and what is required to cure this mounting evil. His basic thesis is that nature, left alone, maintains a harmonious, though moving equilibrium, among soil, water and vegetation. The logical corollary is that farming, mining, forestry and other land uses should restore and maintain this harmony.

But the author does not deal in mere generalizations. He shows in detail how the balance in nature has been upset by exploitive farming, the ruthless destruction of forests, the overgrazing of natural pastures in semi-arid areas, and other harmful practices. And he recognizes the principle that only a well-conserved, productive soil can produce the abundance of food and fiber necessary to a civilized standard of living. He also shows that protecting soil fertility will require a great deal of research, education, wise administration and time. Moreover he senses that this program will require organization which might seem out of step with our traditional ideas of democracy and free enterprise.

The author holds that programs for soil conservation must be *integrated*. By that he means these programs must include entire watersheds, and should relate suitably the various parts of the enterprise to one another and to the plan as a whole. He especially condemns such piecemeal action as the building of a retainer dam, while at the same time failing to control upstream erosion; he criticises the confusion caused by a multiplicity of competing and unco-ordinated agencies; and with equal vigor he attacks the laissez faire acceptance of the principles of conservation that are not pursued to the point of real performance in sound soil management practice. Thus, in order to accomplish the program he visualizes as adequate, the author holds that the program must be in the hands of a single body with over-all power to plan and manage, and with authority to co-



ordinate the various sub-agencies at work upon different segments of the enterprise. He holds up the Tennessee Valley Authority as a worthy example of watershed thinking and watershed reconstruction, because this program: (1) includes the entire watershed; (2) is placed in the hands of a single corporate body with sufficient authority to carry out the purposes of the plan; and (3) has for its aims such multiple services as flood control, navigation, irrigation, hydroelectric power, recreation, and wildlife management—all worthy objectives toward promoting human welfare.

However, in anticipating criticism of the T.V.A. plan of organization in some quarters, the author agrees that this plan involves overlapping of federal, state and local authority in certain areas of political, economic and social interest. He acknowledges that the enterprise, provided for by national authority, places government in competition with private business. Nevertheless, he remains optimistic about the ultimate outcome. He thinks the sale of electric power and the realization of other advantages make the enterprise a good investment. And he maintains that the governmental units involved may co-operate so as to attain the objectives of the project within the broad framework of democracy. The critic might accept this reasoning, provided the T.V.A.'s were administered by men of adequate training and ability, and motivated by humanitarian impulses. But fearing political intrigue and the multiplication of numerous layers of government heading up in Washington, the critic, nevertheless, is likely to interpose a few *caveats* at this point.

On the other hand, the author feels that for smaller natural areas, the soil conservation districts, now so widely accepted among the states, provide a democratic and sound method of organization. Under this arrangement landholders and land-users, by popular vote, decide whether they will join a local conservation undertaking and, to some extent, how the program shall be carried out. This form of organization brings science to the solution of local conservation problems in terms of local needs.

Probably most soil conservation students will not note many strictly new ideas in this treatise, especially on the physical science phase of the problem. But the author has performed a distinct service for both the professional conservationist and the layman by presenting a succinct, forceful and rounded statement of the physical and human factors involved in erosion and its

cure. Furthermore, he rightfully stresses the importance of an *integrated* program of research, education, and administration. This book should be of value to professional workers in soil conservation, rural sociologists, the editors of farm papers and others genuinely interested in understanding the nature of erosion and the formulation of an adequate program for its control.

J. L. HYPES

*University of Connecticut*

*The Role of the Aged in Primitive Society.* By LEO W. SIMMONS. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945. 317 pp. \$4.00.

Dr. Simmons has done a careful, thorough piece of work on the treatment and functions of the aged in primitive society. The problem to which he addressed himself was this: What in old age are the possible adjustments to different environments, both physical and social, and what uniformities or general trends may be observed in a broad, cross-cultural analysis of primitive societies?

He faced a number of obstacles. Primitive people are notoriously indifferent to vital statistics, and ethnographers have not been too careful in reporting all relevant information.

The study is based upon an examination of 71 tribes. Simmons recognizes the fact that this number is too small to "justify placing overmuch reliance upon any single statistical coefficient," and he frequently warns that "glaring exceptions" can be found to most of his generalizations. Nevertheless, he has chosen his sources with utmost discrimination. Sixteen are in North America, 10 in Central and South America, 14 in Africa, 3 in Europe, 16 in Asia, and 12 in Oceania and Australia. He was careful, too, to see that his tribes reflected as many variables as possible, geographical and cultural. One is disposed, therefore, to have confidence in his conclusions.

Simmons selected 109 physical and cultural characteristics (permanency of residence, agriculture, pottery, codified laws, monogamy, etc.) and drew correlations between these and the various characteristics, 112 in number, associated with the status and treatment of the aged (property rights, community support, family rights, leadership in festivals, chieftainship, etc.). In combing his sources, Simmons attempted to form a judgment as to the relative importance of such traits or practices, using five categories. In this manner he arrives at 1146 coefficients, which form the basis of his generali-

zations.

The results are organized under eight chapters. The first deals with food. In all societies, Simmons says, "the hands of the aged have reached out for food when they could do nothing more—and they have not been entirely ignored, nor always filled." He inquires into the circumstances which have led to niggardliness on the one hand to generosity on the other. Chapter II, Property Rights, comes to the conclusion that the institution of property has been a lifesaver for the aged, though societies differ widely in their mores which guard the property rights of those who are too feeble to defend them by their own might. Chapter III, Prestige, examines those factors which are conducive, and which detrimental, to the achievement of prestige by the aged. Chapter IV, General Activities, shows how the aged have been able to insure a certain security for themselves by specialization in a variety of lighter tasks, and inquires into the factors which condition such opportunities. Chapter V, on Political and Civil Activities, shows how the aged have found a fruitful field for their talents in political, civil, and judicial affairs. Chapter VI, The Use of Knowledge, Magic, and Religion, leads to the conclusion that "almost universally the aged have been regarded as the custodians of knowledge and the instructors of the people." Chapter VII, on The Functions of the Family, reaches the judgment that "throughout all history the family has been the safest haven for the aged." Chapter VIII, Reactions to Death, interprets various primitive folkways, such as killing of the aged, ghost-fear, suicide, and witchcraft. "For an old man or woman to die has been, in some societies, like making a great adventure in state; but in others the march toward death has been a pathetic and ignominious struggle every inch of the way."

In this reviewer's opinion Dr. Simmons has defined his problem clearly, has chosen his sources carefully, has scrupulously attempted to handle his data with scientific objectivity, and has reached his conclusions logically and cautiously. Certainly his study represents a more reliable approximation to objective analysis than earlier and less well-controlled approaches. In view of the changes in the age composition of our own society, and of the increasing importance of problems of elderly persons, this study will be welcomed by sociologists as offering a broader perspective for the subject of old age.

BREWTON BERRY

Rhode Island State College

*The Church in Our Town.* By ROCKWELL C. SMITH. New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1945. Pp. 190. \$1.50.

This admirable little book is described best by its subtitle, which is, "A Study of the Relationship Between the Church and the Rural Community." The aim of the author, who is Associate Professor of rural church administration and Sociology at Garrett Biblical Institute, was to bring together materials from rural sociology and agricultural economics "as they bear upon the work of the rural church." Although the book is written primarily for churchmen, it is not merely a treatise on church administration; rather it deals with the foundation, forces and agencies of rural community life and the role that the church might play in that social milieu. It is, therefore, essentially a book in rural community organization from the point of view of the church.

Although the title of the book leaves one a bit uncertain just what sociological area is covered, the first chapter does not. The author rejects formal statistical distinctions between "urban" and "rural," and describes the latter end of the continuum in terms of such sociological concepts as social unit, social contact, social values and social control. Throughout the book he clearly recognizes that the rural world is still essentially unique in its basic characteristics and that the church must adjust itself accordingly.

The author sets a difficult but highly worthy task for the rural church. He sees the church, not merely as a local religious agency, but also as a social agency concerned with the development of universals in personality. That is, by means of its religious and ethical approach to the brotherhood of man, it is the task of the church to lift rural people beyond the narrow confines of the local community to a point where they can understand their larger world and participate in its affairs as Christian citizens should. This is certainly a challenging thought for the church. Even though the school and other community agencies make a greater contribution in this respect than Dr. Smith admits, the responsibility thus laid upon the rural church is tremendous. Considering the calibre of church leadership and the stereotypes of the rural church institution, is there reason to believe that such a high purpose can be accomplished? Let us at least hope that a greater contribution can be made in that direction.

The book is simply written and provides a freshness of thought and style too seldom encountered. The chapter notes and references cited give the book high rank as a text for group study classes.

C. E. LIVELY

*University of Missouri*

*The Jewish Refugee.* By AREIH TARTAKOWER and KURT R. GROSSMANN. New York: Institute of Jewish Affairs of the American Jewish Congress and the World Jewish Congress, 1944. 676 pp. \$5.00.

This book anticipated the official revelations of the Nurnberg trial of Nazi leaders in its documentation of the impact of German fascism upon the Jews, and shows the challenge offered by consequent events to constructive and humanitarian statesmanship of other governments. It is not presented as a chronicle of horror, but no one at all sensitive to human suffering can help but be deeply moved by the grim tale it unfolds. Its emphasis is not on death but on survival; not on the methods of extermination of Jews by the Nazis, but on policies of other countries which determine whether the Jews are to live. The immigration policies of the United States, France, Great Britain, U.S.S.R., Switzerland and several other countries are reviewed in some detail as they effect refugee and settlement programs. Jewish experiments in colonization are evaluated. The rôle played by Jewish private organizations in supplementing the work of government agencies is also briefly appraised. The chief interest of the authors lies in the solution of the Palestine problem, and their book may therefore be studied as background material on the work of the Anglo-American Commission recently set up to advise on future policy toward migration into Palestine. Some of the data in the book have since been superceded by official statistics released after the end of the war, and there have been some recent developments which would modify the picture slightly. This does not detract from the contribution the book makes to an understanding of the problems of displaced persons.

BERNHARD J. STERN

*Columbia University*

*One Foot on the Soil.* By PAUL W. WAGER. University, Alabama: Bureau of Public Administration, University of Alabama, 1945. Pp. xiv + 230.

This timely book includes the results of the most detailed study of the four federal

subsistence homestead communities and one garden home development of the Birmingham, Alabama area. The author is convinced that decentralization of cities is one of the most important modern trends and that housing will be one of the major fields of activity in the postwar era and maintains that "rehousing American workers . . ." must include "a bit of ground on which to produce part of the family living."

In general the author finds that federal expenditures for the projects were justified and that red figures on the books are not really losses but rather "an investment in relief, family rehabilitation, and community planning." (p. 180.) The four subsistence homestead communities cost the federal government \$3,508,214 of which \$2,810,236 was written off as a loss when the holdings were sold. The average cost of a single unit with about 4 acres of land and a 5-room house with modern facilities, and equipped with a combination barn and garage cost about \$6,500. Because construction was done on a make-work basis the author estimates that private capital could have built these units for 40 per cent less. The units were sold by the homestead associations for approximately \$2,000. This selling price was determined by the ability of the homesteader to pay and was based upon a 40-year amortization plan at 3 per cent interest and assuming that the buyer would pay out 25 per cent of his annual income for the holding. Most of the co-operative stores, farm service units, with draft stock and farm equipment and similar enterprises lost the federal loaning agency money. These losses amounted to approximately \$50,000 which the author concedes "is a high price to pay for the education in co-operation imparted to 500 families . . ." (p. 127).

Data taken from the applications and case histories of 697 families who had lived in the homesteads furnishes the most important basis for the study. In addition informal interviews were held with about 50 per cent of the women on the 4 subsistence homesteads and various source materials in the files of the several agencies, under the direction of which the study fell, were consulted. The study includes a very lucidly written history of the subsistence homestead movement of the Roosevelt Administration and evaluates the consequence of the federalization of the projects and centralization of control which came with the liquidation of the boards of prominent local citizens who, with one federal representative, deter-

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mined policy during the early stages of the movement. The study includes analyses of land acquisition and development, family selection, turnover and attainments, land utilization, the co-operative endeavors, the attitudes of the settlers, and general administration and finances.

If this study had been made of any of the 29 subsistence homesteads not located in the Birmingham area, one of its most valuable aspects would have been the comparison of the characteristics of the families who left the projects with those who stayed. Elsewhere this analysis would have been useful in determining the qualities of successful homesteaders. Over 55 per cent of the earlier arrivals left the four subsistence homesteads. This and other studies have shown that the remoteness of these projects from places of employment was the major cause for dissatisfaction, financial difficulty and general frustration, and was probably responsible for over half of the turnover. This would be indicated by the author's own figures if the causes which were directly or indirectly related to remoteness from the project were added together. This is important because it means that the careful analysis and comparison of the age, earning capacity, indebtedness, credit record, relief history, educational status, occupation, wife's experience, size of family, and age of children of those who left with those who stayed cannot be used as a basis for determining the qualities of good homesteaders. Most of these homesteads are known as "horrible" examples of remoteness. The author himself admits that such communities should not be more than 10 or 12 miles from industrial centers unless excellent bus service is available, which is not the case in the Birmingham area. Bureau of Agricultural Economics data indicates that most of these settlers must travel more than 10 miles to work. This being the case, one might argue that the best, or at least the most intelligent settlers, were often the ones who left.

There is another reason why this excellent study should have been made in another area. As the author states "one of the cardinal principles of a subsistence homestead is dependence on family labor," but in Alabama "those who aspire to social status often think a Negro servant is the first requisite." (p. 206) In the area where field labor is a black man's burden some homesteaders left because they could not hire Negro labor. It is unfortunate that this study could not have been integrated with the wider Bureau of Agricultural Economics study in order that the data might have been pertinent for

areas where they would be more useful. Nevertheless, findings and recommendations of this book concerning the size of holding, location of projects, infiltration as versus grouping of dwellings and units, guidance in agriculture, co-operatives, costs and types of settlers are valid and have been substantiated by other studies of these projects and those located elsewhere.

CHARLES P. LOOMIS

*Michigan State College*

*Negro Labor, A National Problem.* By ROBERT C. WEAVER. New York: Harcourt Brace and Company, 1945. 329 pp. \$3.00.

The author has, first of all, provided a carefully documented historic account of the lot of Negro labor in the United States. He describes, in part I, the background in terms of Negro employment and its problems up to the time of World War II.

Part II, entitled "Interpretation," presents an interesting analysis of worker attitudes and economic conditions affecting the employment of Negro workers, together with several detailed descriptions of war-time developments and experiences in opening new occupations to Negroes. Part III discusses the future implications of this experience for peace-time employment.

The author has written a highly interesting if not fascinating story. No reader who is at all interested in the efficient utilization of our human resources will find it possible to skim through the book. Replete with facts, it is well-written, clear-cut, incisive, and informative. All of the most important problems of interracial co-operation in industry are carefully outlined and calmly but effectively assessed. Chapters describe, for example, the problem of union discrimination against Negro members, the shortcomings of public vocational education, the crazy-quilt pattern of war-time policy and practice, with an excellent portrayal of the part played by governmental agencies.

The chapter on interpretation, wherein the author has explained the attitudes of white and non-white workers that lead to conflict, is truly excellent, as is the candid appraisal of the shortcomings of Negro leadership in labor organizations.

While this reviewer cannot accept in toto the author's economic forecast and opinion with respect to the necessity for extensive public construction programs, that is a relatively minor consideration. On the whole, the book is a landmark in the literature of the labor market.

DALE YODER

*University of Minnesota*

*Freedom Under Planning.* By BARBARA WOOTON.  
Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina  
Press, 1945. Pp. vii + 180. \$2.00.

Can we organize our disordered economic system without losing the civil, cultural, political, and economic freedoms to which we are accustomed, or at least to which we aspire? The author is convinced we can; she is not only convinced, she is convincing. Her analysis is realistic and socially intelligent. Most sociologists will feel that she "talks their language" even though she never mentions their name. To implement her idea of planning, she suggests techniques and concepts that have been developed by sociologists and social psychologists as well as those which are more familiar to economists. She has a gift for simple, clear, and interesting exposition of matters usually regarded as dull and abstruse.

Three of the ten chapters deal with freedoms of the consumer: to spend, to choose, to save; three discuss the freedoms of the producer: choice of work, collective bargaining, and free enterprise. She concludes that planning need not menace civil and cultural freedoms and that political organization, which, in the last analysis, must choose and control the planners, can be free, democratic, and effective. There is no real reason why democratic life and planning are incompatible if the planners are people of good will who are striving to increase the real freedoms of real people. Such planners will know where to stop and will realize that they cannot rely upon irrational propaganda and ruthless force. They must appeal to reason and good will.

She disposes of Hayek's thesis that no planning is possible except in totalitarian states, and that all planning leads to tyranny because "the worst elements get to the top," by pointing out that democracies have planned, and are doing so increasingly, and that most of our public servants have been, and are, men of good will and often of considerable ability. Nor is "dead level conformity" either a necessary prerequisite for planning or an inevitable result of it: it is possible to plan for indeterminate ends and for the increase of effective differential choices—which is what she means by freedom. Nor is it true that "the largest group of people whose values are similar are the people with the low standards" (Hayek). Most people want good health, good housing, good education, recreational and esthetic opportunities, and steady, decently paid work, etc. Such values cannot properly be called "low."

Miss Wooton (Mrs. Wright) suggests that our

political party system does not work well because the partisans emphasize differences rather than agreements. They more or less agree on general objectives; in many cases they could (and do) agree on means of obtaining them. Many governmental purposes and procedures have been largely removed from the area of party politics; more could be, and it could be done more rapidly, if the accent were on agreement. Inter-party conferences could be held to work out such areas of mutual agreement.

The only alternative to planning is the market, where millions of buyers exercise "consumer sovereignty" and thus determine the policies of producers. Miss Wooton shows clearly that "consumer sovereignty" is as mythical and unreal as "absolute" national sovereignty. The buyer has never been "sovereign" and the market (including "enterprise") has never been "free" anywhere in this world outside of textbooks and the heads of classical economists. The "free market" has failed and will continue to fail with increasing frequency and severity under the impact of modern technology and world economy.

This reviewer thinks Hayek is probably one of the most misunderstood men since Adam Smith. His guarantee of a decent minimum standard of living for all would shock some of his most ardent misinterpreters to death since it would require a vast extension of the "social legislation" which they abhor and an increase in pay which they regard as red radicalism. It would also require a great increase in planning. Hayek states that he believes in planning—for competition. He certainly knows that to make this effective, to approximate "free competition," we would have to eliminate cartels, monopolies, big business, protective tariffs and subsidies, trade barriers, patents, copyrights, trade secrets, controlled prices and markets, and establish "rules of the game" which are anathema to exploitive capitalists. Hayek, like Adam Smith, is probably much more humanitarian and equalitarian than those who currently lionize him. He must be greatly disheartened to find himself the darling of the "economic royalists," who, of all things, certainly do not want free and perfect competition.

The orderly, democratic transition from no plan to planning advocated by Miss Wooton would probably preserve at least some forms of private enterprise longer than would be the case if the radical changes necessary to approximate "free competition" were made. Such a policy

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would shatter our present economic system into anarchy and probably lead to revolution of the Right or Left. The business class would be wiser to follow Wooton rather than Hayek; she deals with socio-politico-economic realities as they exist in democracies. Hayek has a Nazi-Communist phobia—as well he may—and so has come to regard all planning as synonymous with dictatorship. This, plus the fact that he is basically an old-fashioned laissez faire classical economist and liberal, makes his discussion essentially unrealistic. The business class, which is indulging in a lot of wishful thinking these days, as well as in a good deal of power-politik, cannot see this. If they really got what Hayek advocates, they would like it even less than they like the social intelligence of the CIO.

This is a too brief account of Miss Wooton's challenging little book. It should be read by the millions, and especially by the millionaires. Her *Plan or No Plan* should be read first; it is better because it is longer and more specific, though it does not deal so directly with the knotty question of the "freedoms." Perhaps her general point of view in both books is typified by this sentence from the present volume: "Freedom will never be secure till no one recognizes others as his betters." (p. 180)

READ BAIN

*Miami University*

*A Chinese Village.* By MARTIN C. YANG. New York: Columbia University Press, 1945. 275 pp. \$3.00.

*Earthbound China.* By HSIAO-TUNG FEI and CHIH-I CHANG. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945. 319 pp. \$3.75.

Dr. Yang's book is an excellent description and analysis of the life in a Shantung village. The author begins by presenting the physical aspects of the community: The Village Site, The People, Agriculture, and Standard of Living. Then he proceeds to various phases of the social organization, in which he shows family and, secondarily, clan is of paramount importance. Seven chapters are devoted to family and clan: The Components of a Family, Intrafamilial Relationships, The Family as a Primary Economic Group, The Family as a Primary Ceremonial Group, Marriage, Child Training, and The Rise and Fall of a Family. The next four chapters are devoted to organization, conflicts and leadership within the village and relationship between villages. Chapter 16 is a short developmental biography of a boy grown up in this

culture. The title of the last chapter, *The Village of Tomorrow*, is somewhat misleading. It contains some of the author's ideas regarding rural reform in China, as the title indicates, but it also contains an important and very interesting analysis of the basic characteristics of Chinese village organization as seen in Taitou.

The outstanding qualities of the work that cannot fail to strike any reader are the fullness of its data and thoroughness of its treatment. The data are minutely observed and carefully integrated together. No element of the culture of the community is simply enumerated; it is always seen in the light of its significance in the life of the community as a whole. The village literally *lives* before the eyes of the reader. The whole book gives evidence to the author's mastery of the scientific approach in anthropology. It is a tribute to Professor Linton's untiring effort in promoting research as well as training younger scientific workers.

Dr. Yang's work is an important addition to the shelves of the anthropologist, the sociologist and the lay reader. As the author himself recognizes, "China is so huge, and its living conditions are . . . so diverse from place to place that what one observes in South China may be entirely different in the north" (p. xii). For example, the role and effect of missionaries and the relation between landowners and their tenants. In Taitou, from the author's account, both matters appear to be happy, but this is certainly not the state of affairs in many widely distributed parts of the country as a whole. The only scientific solution will be to obtain more studies on communities representing diverse environmental and social conditions. For this reason, the author's choice of title, *A Chinese Village*, shows keen scientific wisdom. It reminds the reader at once that this is merely a treatise on one of the specific. In so doing the author has performed a much better service to the science of Chinese society than others who failed to resist the temptation of popular and impressive, but misleading titles.

*Earthbound China* is somewhat more extensive in field, being a study of three villages in Yunnan, but limited in interest. It is a treatise on the economic life of these communities.

Each of these three communities studied has, according to the authors, a characteristic: Luts'un is a community of petty land owners; Yits'un is a community showing the relation between rural industry and the land; while Yuts'un is a community where the relation of commerce



and the land is most prominent. The book has a total of twenty-eight chapters in addition to the Introduction and the Conclusion. It contains careful and interesting analyses on such phenomena as the source of farm labor, land utilization and tenancy, rural industries and their finance, the acquisition of wealth, etc.

While many readers will not fail to recognize the value of the material presented to the student of Chinese rural economy, many of them will also be baffled by the confusion of thought created by the long Introduction, and the relation of the latter with the rest of the material. Two things about this Introduction only can be touched upon in this short review. At one point the authors appear to take issue with Professor Tawney, and at another point with Professor Buck. While the argument against the former is merely a matter of substituting one uncertainty with another uncertainty, the argument against Buck is more serious. The initial position of the authors against Buck is quite sound; so sound that it is commonplace among modern anthropologists or sociologists, being an exposition of the weaknesses of the Survey Method, that by isolating some facts from others the vital issues, which can only be seen through the interrelation of all facts, are often entirely neglected. But while the weaknesses of the Survey method are generally recognized as being the strength of the community study method, certain weaknesses of the latter are also generally recognized as being the strength of the former. However scientifically community studies are carried out, we have *at present* the exceedingly difficult problem of not being able to make a sufficient number of them to cover the wide range of variation within a society as well as among societies. The authors, after criticizing Buck severely, appear to have no qualms in making general remarks such as the following, when the "need" arises: "Hired labor is a main characteristic of farming economy in most of the Yunnan Villages" (p. 4). Do the authors have accurate information about "most" of the Yunnan villages? The reviewer has investigated two communities in Yunnan and has travelled extensively in the province, but he cannot honestly claim general knowledge about "most" Yunnan villages. Nor can he suppose without reservation that the authors of the work under review could have gained such knowledge under similar circumstances. The quality of Buck's work is a different question, but had the authors had the help of some figures from the Survey

Method they would have been on much surer grounds in making the sort of statements which most social scientists have been tempted to make at one time or another. And the whole thing boils down to the simple point that the two methods are complementary.

It is interesting to note that, at one point, the authors seem to recognize the strength of the last conclusion. But at another point, they totally repudiate it. The authors pose this question: "How is it possible to study every community intensively?" (p. 14) and then proceed to answer it by the magical word, *Taxonomy* (p. 15). It is impossible to do justice to the whole question of cultural taxonomy in a short review. Suffice it to observe that Fei and Chang's taxonomy of Chinese rural economy is based on material from *three* communities within a radius of 100 kilometers of the provincial capital, and from a fourth community in Kiangsu province which Fei studied about ten years ago. Short cuts are always attractive; they are not, however, always scientifically acceptable. In the present instance, the authors' position is not dissimilar to any zoologist attempting to build his taxonomy of mammals by studying a horse, a dog and a cat. There is an even shorter short cut: why not do it on three cats only; one white, one yellow and one tabby?

FRANCIS L. K. HSU

Columbia University

*New Directions in Psychology: Toward Individual Happiness and Social Progress.* By SAMUEL LOWY. New York: Emerson Books, Inc., 1945. Pp. xiv + 194. \$3.00.

This publication is based on lectures given by the author, an M.D. and a practicing analyst, principally in Czechoslovakia.

The general flavor of the book is indicated by the following paragraph from the Preface: "In this small volume the author wishes to describe certain aspects of individual and social life in terms of psychology. He does not aim at the full and detailed presentation of every problem dealt with by various experts in social psychology; this, though 'scientific', would doom his endeavour to failure. He wants to be understood by every educated reader, and to influence the hearts and minds of social workers and all who are concerned for social reconstruction."

The resulting book is a miscellany of twenty-seven chapters of an average length of seven

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pages (some are only two pages) on such topics as: The Need for Social Psychology; Hatred and Aggression; Sexuality in Its Cultural and Social Aspect; The Social Faculty of Man; An Interesting Case of Paranoia; The Political Mind; Religion and Churches. Apparently these and the other chapters could have been arranged as conveniently in almost any other order. The main emphasis, however, appears to be that aggression is at the basis of our social problems.

The author, a pupil of Stekel's, has been influenced considerably by contemporary analytical psychology; but he points out that the present work does not contain many references to other authors. According to his closing remarks, "the main idea" of this book is: "Do not let us rely, in the great cause of human happiness, on the voluntary fairness of people alone, if there be a way of intensifying, through a better-planned social process, this fairness of spirit in all inter-human relations."

STEUART HENDERSON BRITT

Washington, D.C.

*Twentieth Century Sociology.* Edited by GEORGES GURVITCH and WILBERT E. MOORE. New York: The Philosophical Library, 1945. x + 745 pp. \$6.00.

In this book will be found a series of papers planned to summarize and to evaluate the major achievements of sociologists in the twentieth century. Since, by design, it is a symposium to which many authors contribute it suffers from the main defect of such creations in that not all of the efforts of the several authors are of uniform quality. Many readers of the book will also find themselves wondering why the editors chose some of the contributors to their symposium. Undoubtedly the choices made rest upon sound reasons, and yet the fact that certain scholars who have contributed most to the field which is being discussed do not appear as authors will furnish some readers with grounds for genuine surprise.

The book is divided into two parts. The first part is devoted to a discussion of the principal twentieth century developments in several special fields of sociological research. In this part of the book will be found inventories of achievements in such fields as: social change and evolution, social control, criminology, the sociology of law, the sociology of knowledge, the sociology of religion, the sociology of groups, the sociology

of economic organization, human ecology, social organization and institutions, interpretative sociology and constructive typology, social psychology, research methods, and systematic theory in sociology. The papers on these various fields of sociological study are introduced by a paper on the relations between sociology and the other social sciences.

Of special interest are the papers contained in the second part of the book. There the reader will find summaries of trends and achievements in sociology in other regions of the world. This particular section of the symposium constitutes a significant contribution in that it brings together a great deal of valuable knowledge which because of language difficulties has been inaccessible to many American sociologists. Thus, in this part will be found articles describing trends and developments in sociology in France, Britain, Germany, Italy, Spain, Russia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Yugoslavia and Latin America. The information brought together in these articles is sufficiently valuable in itself to place the entire symposium high on the list of required reading for all professional sociologists.

In spite of the criticisms that may be levelled at the editors for some of their choices in authors and in spite of the objections that may be made to the way in which some of the authors have inflated or deflated particular developments in modern sociology, any serious attempt made to take stock of what has been accomplished in a field of study renders a service to the workers in that field. Such inventories of accomplishments serve not only to provide the student with concise knowledge of the status of the problems peculiar to specific fields of work but also serve as a rich source of suggestions for further research. *Twentieth Century Sociology* serves these purposes adequately.

E. D. MONACHESI

University of Minnesota

*World Order: Its Intellectual and Cultural Foundations.* By F. ERNEST JOHNSON (editor). New York: Harper and Brothers, 1945. 247 pp. \$2.00.

This latest publication of the Institute for Religious Studies represents a collection of lectures in the Religion and Civilization Series, presented during the academic year 1943-1944 under the auspices of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. It is edited by a Professor

of Education at Teachers College, who is also an official of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. Is it a collection of sermons, a litany on a currently devout intellectual subject performed by a random sample of experts, a parade of big names, a series of learned monologues in various specialized dialects? Or is it a pooling of knowledge, techniques, and insights for a crucial period of world history?

The speakers represented are John C. Bennett, Edgar S. Brightman, Joseph P. Chamberlain, Norman Cousins, Irwin Edman, Louis Finkelstein, F. Ernest Johnson, I. L. Kandel, Mordecai M. Kaplan, John LaFarge, Harold Lasswell, David M. Levy, James Marshall, Margaret Mead, Edwin G. Nourse, Clarence E. Pickett, Pitirim A. Sorokin, Ordway Tead.

The series has the recommendation, as a body of lectures, of having something for everyone's taste. Sociologists and serious students of the world as it is and may conceivably become will find the contributions by Chamberlain, Nourse, Marshall, Kandel, and Cousins to be respectively constructive, suggestive, pertinent, realistic, and stimulating. Chamberlain's treatment of world juristic realities is solid meat, and is perhaps the single whole piece germane to the topic from the point of view of social science. It addresses itself to world order, intellectual aspects, and cultural base.

For the student of culture, credits for innocence and freedom from responsibility go to Finkelstein (for discovering the irrationality of human behavior), Brightman (for fondling the "mechanistic fallacy" and for misapprehension that culture has to do with the ends of existence), Edman (for focusing social arrangements to generate fortified uniqueness or individual character), Lasswell (for unhesitating elaboration of the details of the world order that is to be), Kaplan (for insisting both that national egotism is the most inflammatory substance of human nature and that there is a need for a Jewish nationalism).

Pickett provides the outstanding factual report, on war relief by the Society of Friends, balancing Chamberlain's legal-historical-cultural analysis. Tead contributed the corrective descriptive phrase "functional group" to replace the popular "pressure group."

This volume raises the question: what can the social scientist hope to contribute to such a symposium under non-scientific and non-realistic auspices? He can perhaps earn an honorarium. He may leave with some members of his audience and reading public some hint

of the scientific method applied to social matters. In general, however, such ventures seem to be extracurricular activities.

Although there is little social science in the volume, two papers are worth asking in reprint form. Numerous sentences and paragraphs are worth rereading and even excerpting. As a whole, the volume presents a discouraging impression of expensive and organized futility.

This is manifestly an unsporting appraisal of a religion-in-the-atomic-age house party, which is patently inspired by intellectual and cultural (in the non-anthropological sense) good fellowship. The publishers in sending the book to be reviewed here suggest possible sociological utility in it. There is some. It is very little. Our friends went to a prayer meeting. All of them testified. Some of them wore their working clothes.

STANLEY A. CHAPMAN

*Bucknell University*

*Neosha, Missouri, Under the Impact of Army Camp Construction: A Dynamic Situation.*

By LUCILLE T. KOHLER, The University of Missouri Studies, Vol. XIX, No. 4, Columbia: University of Missouri, 1944. 121 pp. \$1.25.

This monograph presents an analysis of the impact of army camp construction on Neosha, a community with a population of 5,318 in 1940, located in the Ozark Region of Missouri. In August, 1941 Neosha was chosen as the locale for the construction of a large army cantonment, Camp Crowder. As a consequence profound changes occurred in the social structure and patterns of living in this normally staid and self-contained community.

The monograph covers the first of three closely related phases of a continuing study of the impact of the war on a small community. As indicated in the preceding paragraph the first phase of the larger project was undertaken to determine the social consequences of the construction of Camp Crowder; the second phase will be concerned with the problems of adjustment and change accompanying the concentration of thousands of soldiers at the Camp; and the third and last phase will consider the postwar period when the Camp is reduced in size or abandoned.

The chapter headings represent the major topics presented in the monograph: "A Self-Contained Community"; "The Coming of the Strangers—A Modifying Influence"; "Disturbed Social Metabolism"; "Housing and Gouging";

"Expanding Areas" vading

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"Expansion of Business"; "Acute Problem Areas"; "Impact on Institutions"; and "Invading Phenomena."

The main theoretical referent in this study is the concept "stranger" as used by Sombart, Simmel, Von Wiese, Margaret M. Wood, and others. The author seems to place unnecessary emphasis on this frame of reference and is not sufficiently critical and discriminating in applying it to the problems and data at hand.

Personal observation and informal interviews are the main techniques utilized. Very few statistical data are included in the monograph. In fact a certain degree of skepticism is expressed concerning the value of quantitative data in research problems of this kind: "The study, then was made 'in process,' under the belief that social science is advanced as much by the direct observation of social phenomena as by the abstraction of numerical symbols from such phenomena" (p. 11). This statement illustrates a common misunderstanding concerning the role of symbols. All human experience is "explained" through the medium of symbols either qualitative or quantitative, and the phrase "direct observation" as used in the foregoing quotation is meaningless. Moreover, as a science develops, increasing emphasis is placed on quantitative symbols.

In spite of the two methodological criticisms mentioned, this monograph is a good example of reporting and represents a valuable contribution to the growing list of community studies.

CALVIN F. SCHMID

University of Washington

*World Politics Faces Economics.* By HAROLD D. LASSWELL. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1945. 108 pp. \$1.25.

*World Politics Faces Economics* is the eighth in a series of reports sponsored by the Committee for Economic Development, a businessmen's association organized in 1942 for the purpose of developing plans for postwar business prosperity and employment. Professor Lasswell, however, had "complete freedom to express his own conclusions." The body of the discussion is included under the following five sectional headings: The Fundamentals of World Politics; The Postwar Structure of World Politics; National Economic Structure and Security; International Trade and Investment Policy; and Ideology, Economy, and Security. It is very likely that the ordinary reader will find the content falling short of the expectations aroused by these captions.

The central problem of the essay is involved with the fact that the two super-powers of the postwar world, the United States and Russia, will vie with each other for ascendancy by seeking to draw around them as many national satellites as possible. "In the future, weaker powers will gravitate toward America and Russia" (p. 20). War between these two countries is not inevitable; however, the tender spot of antagonism will be reached in border-line countries where the commercial interest of the United States encounters Russian ideology: "If social unrest increases in postwar China, Japan, India and other countries marginal to the Soviet Union, the ruling groups of these countries will be in dread of Russian aid to their disaffected masses. The Russians, in turn, will feel surrounded by an ever-thickening wall of hostile governments that look to the United States for aid in keeping down their own masses and resisting Russia" (p. 51).

It is a pity that the analysis of social organization and ideology is so thoroughly superficial that they appear to play no vital part in the relationship between the two great powers. The author does not reason from any social logic inherent in the two systems but rather from certain abstract possibilities and their assumed alternatives. He seems not to have recognized any fundamental social trend in Western society. Throughout the discussion, "freedom" is supposed to be a social virtue of supreme importance. Yet, its meaning as a function of capitalist society is hardly considered. Lasswell, like Friedrich A. Hayek, conceives of "competitive private enterprise" as providing a "basis for freedom;" but, unlike the Hayekian school of writers, he thinks that it is possible for Russia to "solve the problem of freedom" (p. 83). As a theoretical assumption of this, our author asserts: "Since the opposite of individualism is a caste society, both capitalist and socialist economies may be individualistic" (p. 49).

The confusion here of equating an attribute of society with a society is probably due to the timeless eclecticism of the writer's approach. The crucial basis of antagonism between Russia and the capitalist states, the class struggle, receives no specific consideration. The book is frequently platitudinous, presents no new data, and concludes with the apocalyptic sentiment of Alexis de Tocqueville, that each of these countries, America and Russia, "seems marked out by the will of heaven to sway the destinies of half the globe." So far as recent publications are

concerned the discussion of this subject by Frederick L. Schuman in the last chapter of *Soviet Politics* (New York, 1946) comes much nearer to grips with the real problems of the day.

OLIVER C. COX

*Tuskegee Institute*

*Field Work in College Education.* By HELEN MERRELL LYND. New York: Columbia University Press, 1945. 302 pp. \$2.75.

The author has prepared a neat little volume which should be of considerable interest to teachers who wish to translate their classroom lectures into living experiences. She informs the reader that "Field work includes systematic observation, participation and research carried on outside the college," that "It is an essential part of elementary, secondary, graduate and professional training," and that "It serves to break down the duality between life and letters." Field work as discussed in this volume reaches such areas as Housing, Labor Relations, Social Work, Urban Ecology, Unemployment, Child Care and Race Relations.

Much of the work which the author describes is conducted at Sarah Lawrence College, a small liberal arts school for women, located at Bronxville, New York. But the descriptive materials, the projects, and the case studies showing effects on participating students indicate how other educational institutions could benefit by such a program. The idea of field work is not new, as this volume recognizes, for it has been carried on by other colleges for at least twenty years, and the movement is still growing.

The book opens with about forty pages of a very good philosophy of education, and a chapter on Freshman Orientation. These are helpful but some reader may find that his desire to investigate the details of field work will induce him to read them too hurriedly. Although the book contains 302 pages, about 125 of them are given over to eight appendices which are very valuable for those seeking data on methods.

This publication is probably primarily intended for those teachers who have an active interest in field work, but students will also undoubtedly profit by reading about, and taking part in some of the projects which are so well described. Readers will observe a vast difference between "Field Work" and what are widely known as "Field Trips."

The reviewer has been interested for some time in helping students to visualize human

society both in terms of concepts and in reality, consequently he finds considerable merit in the book despite several minor deficiencies, several cumbersome passages, and the heavy load of appendices. But he holds no reservations about suggesting that it will be carefully and widely read.

The author reminds us that "it took one war to make women into citizens. It may well be placed to the credit of another that it will induce us to educate our children." This statement is well worthy of our attention for there are many weighty things needing study outside of lecture halls, and *Field Work in College Education* may lead some of us to find out what they are so that we can assist students in studying them at first hand.

The reviewer regrets that there is no bibliography on this interesting subject, but many books are mentioned throughout the chapters which are helpful in the preparation for study of particular projects.

CHESTER ALEXANDER

*Westminster College*

*The Veteran and His Marriage.* By JOHN H. MARIANO. New York: Council on Marriage Relations, Inc., 1945. 303 pp. \$2.75.

This is a superficial, diffuse, disconnected, and verbose book. It is a sketchy mixture of laws relating to marriage and divorce and advice to the veteran whose marriage is not running smoothly. It does not contain any factual material on veterans' marriages, any analysis of marital relationships, nor any sound methods of procedure for the veteran who is having difficulty adjusting himself to family life.

RUTH SHONLE CAVAN

*Rockford, Illinois*

*Survey of the Literature on Brazil of Sociological Significance Published Up to 1940.* By DONALD PIERSON (editor). Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1945. 76 pp. \$1.50.

This book is a contribution the value of which will be recognized by all North American workers who have attempted to locate published materials dealing with sociological subject-matter pertaining to Latin America in general and to Brazil in particular. If, as the editor says, such materials are poorly organized and difficult to locate in Brazil, they are even more poorly organized and difficult to locate in the United States, where the systematic collection of rele-

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vant works varies widely from one library to another. The value of the book is greatly enhanced by the annotation of the bibliography, which contains many titles that are misleading as to the materials presented.

The survey is introduced by a brief statement of the problem which faced the compiler and a general summary and evaluation of sociological studies which have been made in Brazil. The annotated bibliography is classified under the following headings: I. Journals, Encyclopedias, Bibliographical Works, and Summaries (14 items); II. Population and Human Ecology (129 items); III. Social Organization, Social Change, and Social Disorganization (139 items); IV. Social Psychology (9 items); V. Social Theory and Methodology (48 items—not listed in the table of contents); VI. Materials from Related Fields Useful to the Sociologist (246 items). Concerning the classification itself, Classes II-V contain the materials which are applicable to Pierson's definition of sociology; the first category includes summaries of source materials and bibliographical works; the last class is a miscellany containing widely varying materials of differing degrees of value. Obviously, items in any "miscellaneous" category are always the most difficult to classify and their classification the easiest to criticize, especially by workers interested in specific problems. Even so, it is difficult to understand why *A sociedade rural* by A. Carneiro Leão was included in this category. The title of the book, its treatment of North American sociologists, and its subject matter as summarized in the compiler's annotation would appear to have warranted its inclusion as a source of sociological significance.

JULIEN R. TATUM

University of Arkansas

*Education for Rural America.* By FLOYD WESLEY REEVES (editor). Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945. 213 pp. \$2.50.

With the exception of the first chapter, this book is a collection of papers read before the Conference on Education in Rural Communities held at the University of Chicago during the summer of 1944. It consists of thirteen chapters, by as many authors, discussing emerging problems in rural education, economic and social factors in rural education planning; farm income, migration, and leisure; education for the use of resources, the Land Grant College and rural education, improvement of rural educa-

tion, what rural schools can learn from the training programs of the armed forces, organizing and financing rural schools, library service to rural communities, economic cooperation and adult education, the Michigan State Farm Bureau and adult education, rural youth training for leadership, and the educational program of the Farmers Union.

It is pretty well agreed that the rural school needs improved organization and administration, better teachers and higher salary scales, better buildings, more and better trained leaders, better financing, and better educational programs for children and youth. However, one wonders what contribution the training programs of the armed forces can or should be salvaged for the rural schools; certainly not the motivation, the administrative organization, and not all the instructional techniques. One may agree that the educational function of the rural school should be extended both vertically and laterally to include more advanced age groups and a greater diversity of subject matter. Undoubtedly, there must be a change in the administrative and fiscal pattern of the rural school if it is to survive, and the school itself must be made the core of a larger sphere of educational activity. The facts, criteria, and arguments offered in support of these claims are too well known by sociologists to require specific mention.

Aside from a number of pathetic misinterpretations of facts and their implications, principally by educationists who have stepped outside their fields of competence, the little book is well written. It would furnish a local chapter of the A.A.U.W., a district teachers' conference, or a community forum on education, fuel for discussion for a session or two. It offers little to the scientific student of rural society, either in fact or in principle, that has not been known for a generation. Yet, it leaves the sum of existing human knowledge very well intact, a thing which cannot be said for the majority of books of similar type.

OTIS DURANT DUNCAN

Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College

*Revista De Estudios Penales.* Universidad de Valladolid, Facultad de Derecho, Curso De 1944-1945. Vol. II. 319 pp. No price indicated.

This annual publication of the Law School of the University of Valladolid, Spain, devoted to penal studies, well reflects the dominance of



Franco's Spain by ideas of National Socialist origin. Out of the three articles forming the "theoretical" section (pp. 7-65), one, by E. Wolf (a German, professor at the University of Freiburg i. B.), analyzes the treatment of juvenile offenders in Germany, according to decrees enacted in 1939-41, and another, by A. Piga (professor at the University of Madrid), is devoted to Racial Law, mainly German and Italian. Only the third, by J. Masavou (professor at the same University) concerns itself with the neutral problem of the penal responsibility of corporate persons; but this is merely a Spanish version of a paper published in French in 1930.

Only the first of these articles presents general interest, since it gives insight into the final shape received by the National Socialist system of treating juvenile offenders. The system was based on the distinction, within it, of five levels, depending on the objective seriousness of the offense. From "most serious" to "least serious," with subdivision of the third and fourth levels into "precocious criminality" and "delinquency of growth." To each level, a definite punitive measure corresponded, which was "normal punishment," including capital execution, on the highest level, "juvenile prison" from 4-10 years on the second, "juvenile prison" (in the form of the indeterminate sentence) from 9 months to 4 years or confinement to a home for the detention of juvenile delinquents on the third level, confinement to the same home, for one to three week-ends (quite an innovation!) or "educational measures" foreseen by the law on *Hitler Jugend* on the fourth level, and only these measures on the fifth level.

The theoretical articles are followed by four notes on judicial practice (pp. 69-131), including a sixteenth century case of adultery. Then, a complete translation of the Swiss Penal Code of December 21, 1937, is offered. Finally, there are reviews of books published in Spanish, Portuguese, French and German, a "review of reviews" summarizing current issues of Spanish, Rumanian and German journals in the field of criminology, and a section entitled "University life," but in reality containing miscellaneous items out of which a translation, from Latin, of a sixteenth century work on the extradition of criminals presents some interest.

A glance at the table of content of Vol. I attached to Vol. II here reviewed shows that the distribution of topics and the concentration of interest on things of German origin is not

accidental, but reflects a deliberate policy of the editors.

N. S. TIMASHEFF

*Fordham University*

*The Maya of East Central Quintana Roo.* By ALFONSO VILLA ROJAS. Carnegie Institutions of Washington Publications No. 559, 1945. xii + 182 pp. \$2.25.

The publication under review contains an ethnological description of the most isolated of four Mayan communities in Yucatan which have been subject to different degrees of exposure to an urban society. The other three communities were similarly studied. The theory and general conclusion of the entire investigation are reported in Redfield's *The Folk Culture of Yucatan*.

The four communities, taken together, constitute a concrete instance of a transition of a primitive (folk) to an advanced (urban) society. ". . . as this is a change that has taken place and is taking place in many parts of the world, it is hoped that by comparing this Yucatan instance with others elsewhere, a more general (and in this sense more scientific) description of the process of civilization can ultimately be realized."

The Indians of East Central Quintana Roo are descended from a Mayan group who, having failed to make peace with the Whites following the War of the Castes, retreated to the forests of the south. They are reported here as they preserve a tribal and military organization. The customs and institutions are a peculiarly close fusion of pagan and Christian elements; what Catholic priests taught for generations has now become part of native custom.

The first four chapters give a sketch of the history of Quintana Roo and the remaining ten furnish a rather complete culture inventory. An annotated bibliography of the history of the War of the Castes by Howard F. Cline is included in the appendix.

VERNON DAVIES

*University of Minnesota*

*Sex and the Social Order.* By GEORGENE H. SEWARD. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1946. xi + 301 pp. \$3.50.

Dr. Seward defines her task as that of presenting a phylogenetic approach to problems of sex in the life of the group. She proceeds to draw evidence from the many relevant disciplines but is selective in her use of materials

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in that she generally excludes those writings which do "not measure up to the criteria of scientific method" (p. vii).

Looking at sex from the biological viewpoint, Dr. Seward devotes a chapter to the glandular and nervous mechanisms. The following four chapters discuss courtship, mating and family life of fishes, lizards, birds, rodents, and primates. Running through this section (which the reviewer is not competent to criticize) there is considerable material on the relation between the state of internal secretions on the one hand and sex behavior and demonstrations of dominance on the other.

Our survey of the lower vertebrates shows mating to be inextricably bound up with dominance behavior in the pattern of social life. Their common core seems to be principally the male sex hormone, which simultaneously induces social and sexual dominance. The female sex hormones, on the other hand, are more restricted to reproductive activities and may even exert an inhibitory effect on dominance (p. 42).

In primate societies where dominance is the chief means of social control, the externalized sexual behavior that we have encountered in genetic development is often used as a power weapon rather than as an expression of sexual tensions (p. 76).

Homosexual approaches [among primates] remain restricted for the most part to the expression of dominance (p. 77).

As she begins her discussion of sex at the human level, Dr. Seward remarks variations in sex practices in various cultures and then discusses the "Sex Typing of Social Role" by drawing extensively on the work of Margaret Mead. The treatment of "Changing Sex Roles in Western Culture" suffers from the usual brevity of treatment and a willingness to put a foot down only on the high spots of the last twenty-five hundred years of Occidental history. Moreover, although the book was published in 1946, it is perhaps unavoidable that the discussion of the sex roles in Germany and Japan should sound dated. Similarly, discussion of the Soviet picture sounds a little pre-1936 although some notice is given to "rumors of reaction" in the concluding paragraph.

The chapter on "Childhood Sexual Development" shows a sensitivity to the Freudian viewpoint. The evidence adduced and the conclusions advanced, however, are essentially non-Freudian as manifested by a seeming implicit

rejection of infantile sexuality, and of the universality of the Oedipus complex and of the latency period.

Research literature on autoeroticism, homosexuality, bisexuality, and heterosexuality is summarized in the chapter on "Adolescent Sexual Development," and findings on the sex aspects of the standard marriage studies are summarized in the chapter on "Adult Relationships between the Sexes."

The theme of the final chapter on "Sex in Postwar [American] Society" is that "by confusing women's biological functions with their social role and maintaining male monopoly in the world of achievement, it has been possible to keep half the population from competing for the insufficient jobs available," and it becomes imperative that "men and women should be given equal opportunities to achieve as individuals without regard to sex" (pp. 249-250). The first of these statements seems to be a somewhat careless distortion of the facts. While the reviewer is extremely sympathetic with Dr. Seward's objectives, he suspects that steps toward its achievement in the near future will be deterred not only by whatever post-war reaction there may be, but also that this reaction will be abetted by the currently prevalent conviction in the psychological fraternity that the presence of the mother in the home is indispensable for the healthy emotional development of the child.

Dr. Seward's book is well organized and well substantiated by the some seven hundred references in the bibliography. With the possible exception of a slightly feministic bias, it is very objective and argues from the evidence. Moreover, it is refreshing to read an author who frankly and dispassionately presents in a textbook materials on highly charged moral issues without seeming to cast a furtive eye at the bigots who tolerate no discussion of the pro's and con's on questions of sexual morality. It is a book on sex and not a treatise on morality.

ROBERT F. WINCH

University of Chicago

*Around the World in Saint Paul.* By Mrs. Alice Sickles. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1945. 257 p. \$3.00.

*Around the World in Saint Paul* is a detailed personal narrative of the Americanization program carried on by the International Institute of that city under the direction of the author. Mrs. Alice Sickles takes the reader through all

the intricacies of this program showing how the peoples of some thirty nations foregathered in Saint Paul as immigrants, have been led to a more thorough understanding and evaluation of their own culture and its place in the life of America—more particularly of Saint Paul. She shows also some of the ways in which those of the older American stock have been made acquainted with the rich cultural backgrounds of the immigrant groups.

The book gets off to a rather slow start by leading the reader through an intricate maze of streets, institutions, and names of local personalities in the city of Saint Paul. This has little interest for the general reader. After this first chapter, however, interest picks up as the immigrant groups pass in review bringing with them the cultural contributions as well as their problems of Americanization.

Much of the book is devoted to a somewhat detailed description of the Festival of Nations held in 1936 in which the huge arena of the Saint Paul Auditorium was transformed into a "mythical city somewhere in central Europe where people of all nations live together and to which tourists from all the world came to visit." In the final chapter the author offers a number of timely suggestions for "building new bridges of understanding between the various groups which go to make up our America."

The book is well written. What otherwise might prove to be prosaic facts are mingled with dramatical description to make the book interesting as well as instructive. It must be thought of as a description rather than an analysis of the problems of minority group relations. While *Around the World in Saint Paul* lays no claim to being a sociological treatise, it will prove both interesting and instructive to students of sociology, particularly to those interested in acculturation.

R. R. MARTIN

*Hamline University*

*Medicine in Industry.* By BERNHARD J. STERN.  
New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1946.  
198 pp. Chapter bibliographies and index.  
\$1.50.

Like his preceding work, *American Medical Practice In the Perspectives Of A Century*, this volume by Dr. Stern reveals a magnificent gift for condensation of materials without loss of perspective. This achievement is the more

remarkable in a field as yet vaguely defined and confused by a diverse and scattered literature. The thoroughness with which that literature has been organized and the objectivity with which its implications for modern medicine have been set forth and considered give the work a value immediately apparent to all students of the sociology of medicine.

That there is a relationship between occupation and disease has been known since the days of ancient Egypt, but we still know far too little about the effects of many industrial processes upon health. In spite of great progress in certain fields during the past few years, Stern points to the need for far greater research in industrial medicine than is at present underway, for such research is not keeping pace with the new processes and new industries that are multiplying at an unprecedented rate.

Surveying the social and legislative history of industrial medicine, Stern points out that on the Continent guilds protected workers until some degree of factory legislation was enacted. In England, social responsibility as fostered by the guilds disappeared too early to ameliorate the remorseless individualism of the early nineteenth century. The worker worked at his own risk. This tradition passed to America. Local and state government played, and still plays into the hands of industrialists seeking to evade compliance with protective labor legislation.

Though mortality rates are known to vary widely in different industries, Stern shows that no comprehensive analysis of occupational mortality in the United States has been made since 1930. The use of industrial plant physicians is still minimal. Trade unions have recently shown an interest in stimulating the expansion of industrial medicine, but so far health insurance plans cover only a small fraction of the working population. The position of the industrial physician, and the unsavory practices which complicate his rise to a position of dignity in the social order are fully visualized.

Dr. Stern has written a challenging book, not because he is himself partisan or emotional, but because he has learned well the lesson that facts speak for themselves. A vision of the services which medicine might perform shines clearly through his rigorously pruned and austere prose.

LOREN C. EISELEY

*Oberlin College*

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Number 6

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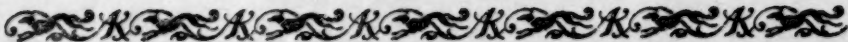
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The 1946 Edition of *A Study of Rural Society* has been revised and reset throughout. Brought down to date, the book presents these new features: the interests of rural youth are considered throughout the text; the section on farm labor is considerably expanded; much new data on rural education, rural health, rural welfare and local government is included.

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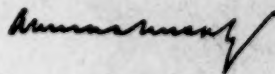
# Sociology for Scholars and Students

I HAVE recently published *THE MASTERS AND THE SLAVES, A Study in the Development of Brazilian Civilization*, by Gilberto Freyre. Translated by Samuel Putnam from the Portuguese, *Casa-Grande & Senzala* has long been recognized, to quote T. Lynn Smith, "as the greatest sociological book that has been produced in Latin America . . . a work that should be known to every social scientist in the United States."

Our list in Sociology and Anthropology includes many other books, notably those by the Gluecks and the Thomases. More are now being written particularly for college students. Among the texts to be published in the coming year are *A MANUAL FOR INTRODUCTORY SOCIOLOGY*, by John W. Bennett and Melvin Tumin; *RACE AND CULTURE*, by E. Franklin Frazier; *A CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY*, by Melville J. Herskovits; *PERSONALITY AND CULTURE*, by Clyde Kluckhohn; *RURAL LIFE IN THE UNITED STATES*, by Carl C. Taylor and associates; and *THE STRUCTURE OF AMERICAN SOCIETY*, by Robin M. Williams.

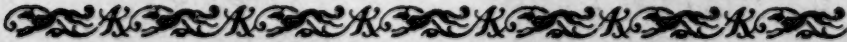
Scholars will be particularly interested, I think, in two studies to be published this Winter: *TRINIDAD VILLAGE*, by Melville J. and Frances S. Herskovits; and *SLAVE AND CITIZEN: The Negro in the Americas*, by Frank Tannenbaum.

In this program of new works in Sociology I am glad to announce that Dr. Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., chairman of the department at Cornell University, is acting as our Consultant.



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